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THE GREAT WAR BOOK











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The Daily Chronicle

John M. Gowan  
Oct 1914

# THE GREAT WAR BOOK

WITH MAPS AND DIAGRAMS



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# THE GREAT WAR BOOK

## I. THE GATHERING OF EVENTS

IN the history of Europe in the past 60 years, two events of supreme importance stand out like bold landmarks challenging the attention of every eye. One is the unification of Italy with its corollary, the loss of the temporal sovereignty of the Pope. The other is the drawing together under the virile leadership of Prussia of Germanic States long the victims of an unlovely Particularism, and the rise of Germany into a position of unchallengable strength as one of the greatest Powers on the Continent.

In the main, the creation of these new great States was the work of two men. With bold statecraft, Cavour, reaping the fruits of the mystic idealism of Mazzini, and the romantic character and heroic achievements of Garibaldi, built up the structure of modern Italy on broad and deep foundations. No statesman has achieved so much with such slender means as Cavour, who was steeped to the lips in the political and

economic doctrines of British Liberalism.

### THE FAVOURS OF FORTUNE

Cavour was fortunate in many things. He had a wise and prudent master in Victor Emmanuel, King of Sardinia, and he was singularly fortunate in obtaining for nascent Italy the active sympathy of Great Britain and France. Lord Palmerstone, Lord John Russell and Mr. Gladstone—the last of whom some years earlier had made all Europe ring with his protest against the infamies of King Bomba's rule in Naples—were warm and eager friends of Italian unity. But powerful as was their help, the emancipation of the Italians would not have been accomplished so swiftly without the potent aid of the French troops.

Napoleon III., that strange dreamy adventurer, who aspired to fill the rôle of the great Napoleon, and sought to erect a Cæsarism in France on the basis of popular consent, had gleams

of generous idealism in his troubled soul. He had always professed sympathy with the principle of Nationality, and when the Italians rose in 1859 against the cruel Austrian yoke, he sent the French army to assist them in Northern Italy. The victories of the allied troops at Magenta and Solferino prepared the way for the liberation of Italy. To the dismay of the Italians the peace of Villafranca, which Napoleon, under pressure from the Vatican, hastily concluded with Austria, robbed them for the time of the fruits of these victories.

#### GARIBALDI'S MEN

So it came about that the freeing of Italy from the Alps to Sicily had to be accomplished by the brave hearts and stout arms of its own people. In 1882, Italy, under the lead of Crispi, leagued herself to Germany and Austria in the Triple Alliance. But she is little more than a sleeping partner in the Group. Her situation in the Mediterranean, and old ties of gratitude and interest draw her sympathies toward England and France. On the other hand, Austria is her hereditary enemy. Portions of unredeemed Italy, notably the distinctively Italian port of Trieste, are still under Austrian sway, and Austrian ambitions in the Adriatic, "the Latin sea" of bygone ages, are viewed with profound concern in Rome.

What Cavour did for Italy, Bismarck did for Germany. Modern

Germany owes more to Bismarck than to any other man. The present German Emperor loves to speak of his grandfather as "William the Great." It is not an appropriate appellation. Old William was a man of fine simplicity of soul and noble character, who did a great work for the German people. But greatness was not one of his attributes. The epithet "great" can be much more appropriately applied to the Iron Chancellor than to the Emperor-King whom he so faithfully served. It was Bismarck, aided by the military genius of Moltke, who created the German Empire as we know it to-day.

#### THE IRON MAN

It was Bismarck who engineered the war with Denmark over Schleswig-Holstein in 1864. It was he, who, in 1866, picked a quarrel with Austria, Prussia's ally in the Danish war, deprived her of her old pre-eminence in Germany, and secured the hegemony of the Germanic States for Prussia. Finally, it was he, who, in 1870, welcomed with glad alacrity the war with France, precipitated by the blundering diplomacy of Napoleon III. and his Ministers.

True to the traditions of Frederick the Great, the gifted monarch who raised Prussia from the dust, Bismarck showed an utter lack of scruple in his policy. German unity was achieved by methods of "blood and iron," and the progress of the new Empire was stimulated by an artful diplomacy which sowed enmity and



distrust among all the other great Powers in Europe. Bismarck's statesmanship was Machiavellian in its craft. By wresting Alsace and Lorraine from France, he left a wound that time was powerless to heal. He thus erected an obstacle which prevented any possibility of common action between France and Germany, and ensured French enmity for all time to German ambitions. Nevertheless by the cunning skill of his diplomacy, Bismarck contrived to estrange France and England, and to embitter relations between England and Russia. Thus we came to the verge of war with Russia in 1885 over the Penj-deh incident in Afghanistan and with France in 1898 over Fashoda.

#### LACKING IN VISION

All men have their limitations. Bismarck was no exception to the rule. He had no conception of the importance of Colonial possessions to a great State. Nor did he ever realise—being, in this respect, curiously like Napoleon—all that is involved in sea power, or that is meant by the command of the sea. Anxious only to consolidate the strength of the newly-founded German Empire, Bismarck repressed all desires for an adventurous Colonial policy. To ease the pressure on the Eastern frontier of Prussia, he encouraged Russia to turn her gaze from Europe towards Asia, with the result that the Empire of the Tsar is now one of the dominant Powers of the Pacific Coast.

To take France's eyes away from the Vosges, and to embroil her with England, he favoured every French Colonial project, and aided and abetted her anti-English machinations in Egypt. But it has come about that France, having settled her differences with England over Egypt, in exchange for a free hand in Morocco, has, despite the crushing defeat of 1870, acquired a Colonial Empire second only in extent to that of Great Britain. Even little Belgium has secured for herself a great African domain on the Congo.

#### ENCOURAGING FRANCE

While renouncing Colonial ambitions for Germany, Bismarck encouraged Italy as well as France to pursue them. Hence the Italian adventure in Abyssinia. When, in the year 1882, Italy gave her adhesion to the Dual Alliance, Bismarck insisted that the Triplice should be limited to Continental responsibilities. He would not hear of its extension to the Mediterranean, his desire being to foster Italian jealousy of British and French naval power in the great middle sea. Italy was quick to profit by the Bismarckian limitations. She promptly arranged an agreement with France relating to the Mediterranean—an agreement to which, after the Anglo-French Entente Cordiale, established in 1904, England also became a party.

This Mediterranean Agreement is

one of the reasons why Italy has held aloof from the present war, and it explains her audacity in pouncing upon Tripoli in 1911. Her action on that occasion gave great umbrage to Germany, not only because it entailed war with Turkey, whose friendship Germany was cultivating, but because Germany itself was believed to be casting covetous eyes on the Tripolitan coast in the hope of obtaining a coaling station in the Mediterranean as compensation for her failure to get possession of the Moroccan port of Agadir. Thus Italy's adventure in Tripoli was mortifying in a very peculiar degree to Germany.

#### OUT IN THE COLD

During a great era of Colonial expansion—and at a time when, owing to the new pressure of economic conditions, over-sea possessions are more valuable than ever to a nation—Germany, for all her wealth, her progress and her military greatness, has been out in the cold. This it is which explains her restlessness in the past fifteen years—the constant complaint that she is hemmed in; the perpetual rattling of the German sabre in its scabbard; Prince Bulow's demand that Germany shall have "a place in the sun"; the Kaiser's declaration that Germany's future is "on the water"; his dramatic descent upon Tangier in 1905; "the shining armour" speech of 1908; and the visit of the German gunboat "Panther" to Agadir in 1911. As has been shown, however, the things of which Germany

complains are in large measure the consequences of Bismarckian policy.

Apart from the unification of Germany and Italy, the past sixty years have left the map of Europe unchanged except in the Balkans and the Ægean Sea. England has become more than ever a naval and a colonial Power. Belgium, which separated from Holland in 1831, has prospered exceedingly as an independent power, and has gloriously vindicated her title to an independent existence by the splendid fight she has put up against wanton German aggression in the present war. Norway, in 1905, separated itself from Sweden. The neutrality of the Scandinavian States like that of Holland and Belgium, is guaranteed by the great Powers. Portugal has become a Republic, but like Holland she retains extensive Colonial possessions, on which covetous eyes are cast.

#### SICK BUT IMPORTANT

Turkey's dominion in Europe has been severely curtailed within living memory. Austria, Roumania, Bulgaria, Servia, and Greece, have all profited at the expense of the Ottomans. But Turkey, for all her corruption and her weakness, still holds one of the noblest cities in the world—the new Rome founded by Constantine. She still has in her keeping the keys of the Dardanelles, and Russia is still denied free access to the Mediterranean.

Dread of Russian dominance in the South-East of Europe was, for many



years, a leading motive of British policy. It was responsible for the Crimean war. It nearly led to another war between us and Russia in 1878. It dominated our foreign policy like an enslaving superstition for two generations. The late Lord Salisbury sorrowfully admitted shortly before he left office, that in our policy in the near East we had "backed the wrong horse." We have resisted Russian influence in Constantinople only to establish German influence in its place.

When the Young Turks succeeded in overthrowing the reactionary and blood-stained regime of Abdul Hamid, the first power to benefit from the resultant weakness of the Porte was Austria-Hungary, which in October 1908, formally incorporated Bosnia and Herzegovina into her dominions. As mandatory for Europe, Austria had administered the provinces since 1898, but her annexation of them drew protests from England and Russia, who asked that at any rate the consent of the great Powers should be sought, and the transaction regularized. It was then that the German Emperor set himself beside his ally "in shining armour clad," and ignored Sir Edward Grey's protests against the violation of the public law of Europe.

### THE RACIAL PULL

Nowhere was the annexation more bitterly resented than in Serbia, a small Slav state that was rapidly

growing in power and self-consciousness. Serbia felt the pull of her racial affinities with the Bosnians, and besides craved for herself "a little window looking out on the Adriatic." Austria's movement down the Adriatic littoral would, she instinctively felt, be fatal to that ambition. Italy viewed with unconcealed aversion Austria's progress down the Eastern shores of the Adriatic. She too determined to profit by Turkey's embarrassments, and in 1911 conquered by force of arms the Province of Tripoli with which ancient Rome was so closely associated. Next came the uprising of the Balkan League; the war of 1912. For a time it seemed as if the Turks would be bundled bag and baggage out of Europe. But in 1913 swift upon their dramatic successes, the victorious allies quarrelled among themselves, with the result that Turkey re-established herself, and recovered Adrianople, and that Bulgaria was deprived of territory which she had valiantly won.

The whole world was amazed by the startling revelation of the military strength of the Balkan States. Nowhere did the revelation produce more disquieting effects than in Vienna and Berlin. Germany resolved to pay more sedulous court to Turkey—German power has been supreme in Constantinople—and Austria was more resolutely determined than ever to put a stop to the greater Serbia propaganda, which was having a disturbing effect upon the Slav

elements among her own population. Germany and her ally would not suffer a strong Serbia to be interposed on their road to Salonika, the great port on the Ægean sea, which is a doorway to the Mediterranean, and offers easy access to Asia Minor, where in the valleys of the Euphrates and the Tigris, Germany has large spheres of influence. "If one can speak of boundless prospects anywhere," wrote Prince Bulow in a glowing passage, "it is in Mesopotamia." The South-European trend of German ambitions comes into sharp conflict in the Balkans with the ideals of the small Slav Powers which look to Russia as their "big brother." The deplorable assassination of the heir to the Austrian throne, the Archduke Francis Ferdinand and his Consort last June in Bosnia, was a revelation of the ferocity of racial enmities that prevail in the Balkans.

### A KNOCKDOWN BLOW

Austria made the crime a pretext for crushing Serbia to the earth, and for aiming at Russian prestige in the Balkans a knockdown blow. Russia is the last Power that could have any sympathy with regicide, but with her Greek Church faith, and her strong Slav sympathies, she has always claimed to be in a special degree the protector of the Christian populations in the Balkans. She received her Christian faith from Constantinople. And devout Russians long for

the day when the infidel shall be expelled from the sacred city. Russia could not suffer her influence to be blotted out in the Balkans.

War has come not from the Sarajevo crime, but from the mutual animosity of Slav and Teuton, and the fierce rivalry of their incompatible ambitions. It must never be forgotten that of the heterogeneous population of Austria-Hungary, less than one fourth are Germans, whilst quite one-half are of Slavonic origin, and the sympathies of these go with their racial affinities. The rise into strength of the Slav States in the Balkans is one of the prime factors that have impelled Germany and Austria to bring about the present war.

Their ambition is to extend Germanic influence from the North Sea and the Baltic without a break through central Europe to the Ægean Sea, thence to Asia Minor and the Persian Gulf. Russia on her part is in no mood to suffer a new and formidable rival to block her way to the Mediterranean, least of all a power like Germany, for between Russians and Germans there is an intense mutual repugnance. Germany's overmastering ambition is mainly responsible for the present war, but one of the supplemental causes which has helped to bring it about is the deep-rooted antagonism between the Teuton and the Slav.



## II. THE MISSION OF BRITAIN

IN the past quarter of a century the most remarkable feature of British development has been not so much the growth of our Empire in extent—although that has been very considerable—as the diffusion among the people of the Mother Country of Imperial sentiment. It was said by the late Professor Seeley, that the British Empire was founded in absence of mind. That may be, but to-day even the stay-at-home Englishman is very conscious of the reality of its existence. In a hundred ways the ties that unite our over-sea possessions to the Mother Land have become more tangible, more real in the last two decades.

### THE FEDERAL IDEA

An altogether new conception of the relations between a Mother State and its Colonies has taken hold of the minds of men everywhere in recent years. All around us we see a scramble among the great Powers for opportunities of exploiting the world's undeveloped estate. Owing to the increasing tendency towards industrialism, the growth of oversea trade, the need for a continuous flow into the home ports of food products, and

an uninterrupted supply of raw materials, contemporary statesmen have had brought home to them the supreme urgency of economic necessities to the modern State. Economic needs threaten, indeed, to usurp the place of the old dynastic ambitions as causes of war. The modern statesman has to think in terms of commerce, about raw materials for his country's industries, about markets for its manufactured goods. The new hunger for Colonial possessions is therefore perfectly natural. It has been stimulated by the ease and swiftness of modern communications, the steamship, the cable, the wireless installation, all tending to annihilate distance. In our time the world has visibly shrunk and Ottawa is as near to London to-day as Edinburgh was a century ago.

### MAHAN'S TEACHING

The security of over-sea Colonies and the protection of the merchant fleets which steam to and from them depend on the possession of a strong Navy. Hence the appetite for Colonies goes hand in hand with naval ambitions. A very famous American, Admiral Mahan, taught the present

generation, which had almost forgotten it, the importance of sea power. Favoured by her insular position, her immense Colonial possessions, her proud naval traditions, England was able with ease to adjust herself to the new developments of world policy consequent on the stimulus of economic needs. Germany, on the other hand, with a bad geographical position, the absence of German Colonies and German coaling stations, was in a highly disadvantageous position. Herein is to be sought one of the root causes of the recurring antagonisms that have marked Anglo-German relations in the past fifteen years.

"If England did not exist, it would be necessary to invent her." So said a sagacious and witty French statesman two generations ago. The aphorism is a tribute to the beneficent influence which Great Britain exerts in the world. A very considerable portion of the earth's surface is embraced within the British Empire. In acquiring and administering this Imperial dominion we have sinned and blundered after the fashion of fallible men. But on the whole the record is one of which we have a right to be proud. There has been an honest desire to govern in the interests of the natives themselves.

#### WHAT THE FLAG MEANS

Wherever the Union Jack floats, security and justice prevail. We have brought order, peace, sanitary

science, economic progress to India, and by slow degrees, perhaps too slow, we are seeking to associate the people of India with the government of their own wonderful land. In Africa—whether in British East Africa, in Matabeleland, in Nigeria, in Egypt—we are honestly striving to act as trustees of the interests of the natives. The human rights of the black peoples in every corner of the Empire are jealously protected by the Imperial Parliament. Nowhere is there servitude under the British flag. The humblest native is guaranteed justice. He is ensured the fruits of his own free labour, and security for his person and possessions.

In no sphere has the British sense of right and its instinct of fair play been more clearly exhibited than in that of economic policy. In India, and in all our Crown Colonies, there is complete freedom of trade to all the world. German merchants have the same rights of trade with India, and Ceylon, Egypt and Nigeria, as have British merchants. German ships are treated there, as indeed they are in the ports of the United Kingdom, in precisely the same way as British ships. None enjoys a privilege, none suffers a disability. Our policy is that of the open door. No country has benefited more from it than Germany. German shipping and German commerce owe no small debt to the free facilities for trade which they enjoy within the spacious ambit of the British Empire. Nevertheless the Pan-Germans are anything but



grateful. Their views are expressed in the ungracious words of General Bernhardt: "The principle of the open door prevails, but everywhere the politically dominant power controls the commerce." No other power in the world allows foreigners to compete on terms of perfect equality with its own people in its own possessions. Not Germany, nor France, nor the United States.

### DOMINIONS MANY

In addition to India and the Crown Colonies the British Empire comprises the self-governing dominions of Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa. Mid-Victorian statesmen, Tory and Liberal, looked with indifference upon the Colonies. Our Colonial kinsmen were given self-governing rights, and then left free to develop according to their own natural bent. The gift of freedom nourished the sentiment of loyalty.

The Mother Country renounced dominion of the Colonies, but by the very act of self-renunciation riveted them to her by hoops of steel. Consciousness of the unity of our far-flung Empire was exhibited in a memorable fashion at the Jubilee Celebration of Queen Victoria's reign in 1887, and at the Diamond Jubilee of 1897. That it was a thing of reality, and not a mere efflorescence of sentiment, was shown to the whole world on the outbreak of the Boer War when Australians, Canadians and New Zealanders flocked to the British colours

and fought side by side with the British troops. In this connection let us never forget that Lord Kitchener, who brought the South African war to a close, displayed the highest statesmanlike qualities in the peace negotiations at Vereeniging with the Boer leaders. His wise desire was to bring the Boers into the British Empire on self-respecting terms, and he succeeded. The work of reconciliation was completed in 1906 by the bestowal of self-government on the Transvaal and the Orange Free State. We have seen the blessed fruits of that policy of trust and of that belief in the healing virtue of free institutions, in the coming together of all the South African Colonies, and the rise of the South African Union with General Botha as its first Prime Minister.

### GROWING UP!

As they have grown in nationhood, Canada, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa, have become pillars of strength to Great Britain. It is an inspiring thought that the English language is spoken, and that English conceptions of law, justice and freedom prevail over a vast extent of the earth's surface, including some of its fairest portions. Small wonder that the spectacle of the far-stretching British Dominion, with its harmony and infinite variety, and the widely scattered seed of British civilization, moves the envy of other Powers.

British policy in Europe has been determined by our insular position

and influenced by our political development. England has stood for the principle of nationality; she has encouraged the growth of free institutions everywhere; she has been the champion of small States. On the outbreak of the Franco-German war in 1870, we demanded and obtained from both France and Germany assurances that they would not violate the neutrality of Belgium. It was Germany's refusal last July to give an undertaking to Sir Edward Grey to abstain from violating Belgian territory, that finally determined British participation in the present war. The governing motive of British policy in Europe has been resistance to the overwhelming supremacy of any single Power.

#### BATTLES LONG AGO

It was for this that in past centuries we fought against Spain and France—against Philip II., Louis XIV., and Napoleon. In the middle of last century the gaudy Imperialism of Napoleon III. and his restless foreign policy marked out France once again as the enemy. Presently the French bogey gave way to the Russian bogey. Anti-Russian prejudices long dominated our foreign policy, much to the satisfaction of Bismarck. It was thought to be a British interest to preserve the integrity of Turkey, and to resist the natural ambition of Russia for an outlet into the Mediterranean. These are now the worn out superstitions of an exploded diplomacy.

Until the accession of Edward VII. British policy was rather pro-German than Anti-German. In 1890, an Anglo-German agreement was arrived at, which defined the German and British spheres of influence in Africa, and which ceded Heligoland to Germany in return for the acknowledgment of the British Protectorate of Zanzibar. In 1898, this was supplemented by an understanding governing the conduct of England and Germany in the event of Portugal desiring to dispose of her Colonies. In 1899 England acquiesced in Germany's occupation of the Samoan islands in the Pacific. Thus in these years English influence facilitated German Colonial ambitions, and Mr. Chamberlain, in 1898, actually advocated an Anglo-German alliance.

#### "SPLENDID ISOLATION"

For long years English statesmen had avoided entangling alliances on the continent. "Splendid isolation" was their maxim, and a very good maxim, too. Then suddenly a new chapter was opened in 1904 by the Anglo-French *entente* established by M. Delcassé and Lord Lansdowne. This was followed in 1907 by an Anglo-Russian agreement, negotiated by Sir Edward Grey; but the agreement with Russia was limited to Asia. It was the Entente Cordiale with France that brought us plump into the middle of European politics. "For good or for evil," said Lord Rosebery, in 1912, "we are now embraced in the midst of the continental system;



and that I regard as perhaps the gravest fact in the later portion of my life." It may be noted in passing that Lord Rosebery was the only British statesman of the front rank who criticised adversely the Entente policy with France.

Yet there was a great deal to be said for a liquidation of our account with France. We had long-standing differences with her in regard to Newfoundland, Siam, Madagascar, and Egypt. Over the Fashoda incident in 1898, when Major Marchand and General Kitchener met so dramatically on the banks of the White Nile, the two countries nearly came to war. The real author of the Entente Cordiale is M. Delcassé, a French statesman of courage and imagination. Under the agreement of 1904 France obtained Madagascar; we were no longer to be harassed by French pin-pricks in Egypt; and we guaranteed to France a free hand in Morocco. Germany promptly showed her resentment at the Entente Cordiale. Prince Buelow argued that England and France in Morocco "disposed arrogantly of a great and most important field of colonial interest without even deigning to take the German Empire into consideration." Germany's protest took a dramatic form. On March 31st, 1905, the Kaiser landed at Tangier, "where," in Buelow's words, "he defended the independence and sovereignty of Morocco in unequivocal language." Germany established her right to be consulted, and then came the Algeiras conference.

Morocco once more became a storm-centre in July, 1911, when the German gunboat "Panther" dropped in at Agadir, a Moroccan port fronting on one of the great British Atlantic trade routes. This menace to France and England was the cause of the memorable speech of Mr. Lloyd George that caused such a flutter in Europe. Germany drew back but the incident left rankling memories in some German minds.

### DANGER AHEAD!

After the abortive *coup d'Agadir*, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer's speech, both countries seem to have realized the gulf that was yawning near their feet. Sir Edward Grey and the German Emperor worked with the utmost cordiality to circumscribe the Balkan war and prevent the Great Powers being involved in the conflagration. This co-operation had a soothing influence on Anglo-German relations. Not for many years had they been so cordial as they were in 1913 and during 1914 up to the month of July. The difficult negotiations over the Bagdad railway had been conducted with great amity on both sides, and brought to a happy issue in June, 1914. It seemed as if the *détente* might even be followed by an *entente*, when suddenly the fair promise was ruined by the outbreak of war.

Wherever the guilt for this wicked war lies it does not lie at England's door. Peace is, before all things, a

British interest, and in the negotiations of last July, Sir Edward Grey strove and wrestled for peace with all his soul. The whole neutral world acknowledges that England's hands are clean and that her heart is pure in this devastating conflict. This moral asset, of incalculable value to us in the war, is attributable in no small degree to the crystalline clearness of Sir Edward Grey's mind, so sincere,

so straightforward, and to the unswerving zeal with which he fought for the preservation of European peace. England stands in this gigantic struggle for freedom, for the rights of small States, for the sanctity of treaties and for the public law of Europe. It is ground on which she has fought many a historic fight; and on this ground she has never been beaten.



### III. THE RISE OF GERMANY

IN the dignified, austere mausoleum of the Hohenzollerns at Charlottenburg, near Berlin, a beautiful sarcophagus has been raised over the tomb of the patriotic Queen Louise of Prussia, who, after being treated with brutal contumely by Napoleon, did so much to rouse the spirit of the Prussian people when they had been crushed beneath the heel of the mighty conqueror in the early years of the nineteenth century.

The devoted labours of Stein, Scharnhorst, and Hardenburg, supplementing the inspiration supplied by the good Queen, prepared the way for the war of liberation which culminated in the great victory of Leipzig in 1813—a victory which, following on the disastrous retreat from Moscow, ensured the downfall of Napoleon. Near to Queen Louise's tomb reposes the body of her son, old King William of Prussia, who, after defeating the armies of Napoleon III. in the field, was in 1871, at a moment when Paris was girdled by a ring of German steel, acclaimed Emperor of the Germans in the Galerie des Glaces at Versailles.

#### THEN AND NOW

No one, gazing at these imposing monuments, can fail to be impressed by the lesson of historic retribution that they convey. Prussia had right on her side in the wars with Napoleon ; but who will dare aver that Germany has right on her side in the disastrous war now raging, that has been so wantonly provoked by the Prussian military caste ? Two facts of sinister omen were recorded in the first weeks of this war. The first German war vessel destroyed by the British Navy was a mine-layer bearing the name "Queen Louise," and the first German armed merchantman sunk was the "Kaiser Wilhelm der Grosse."

Modern Germany dates from 1870, when the Germanic states, which in bygone epochs had formed part of the Holy Roman Empire, under the ægis of Austria, united in a confederation with the virile leadership of Prussia. The present German Emperor is not in the true line of Charlemagne, the mighty monarch who in the year 800 received the Imperial Crown from the Pope, and, reviving memories of the Cæsars, founded the Holy Roman Empire.

## KINGS OF OLD

Most of modern Germany was under the sway of Charles the Great and his descendants. One of these was Charles the Fifth, that devoted son of the Church, who dominated Europe at the time of the Reformation, and was so sorely troubled by the apparition of Martin Luther. Whereas the Holy Roman Empire was Catholic, Wilhelm II. is at the head of what is essentially a Protestant state, though more than a third of its inhabitants are Roman Catholics. After a chequered existence of a thousand years, the old Empire received its *coup de grace* from Napoleon in 1806. It passed away unwept, unhonoured, and unsung. It had long been tottering to its fall, and Voltaire said of it in the eighteenth century with equal truth and wit, that it was neither Holy, nor Roman, nor an Empire. After its downfall, Austria continued to exert a precarious ascendancy over Germania, until in 1866 the primacy was wrested from her nerveless grasp by Prussia, whose rise to power provided a new focus around which the Teutonic states might gather and concentrate their strength.

Particularism had long been the bane of the Germans. It was due to the constructive genius of Bismarck, a nineteenth century Frederick the Great, that these fissiparous tendencies were overcome, and that Germany was welded into a powerful state. Bismarck stopped at nothing where the interests of his

country were concerned. War with him was an instrument to be used deliberately for the promotion of political ends. In 1864, craving a larger seaboard for Prussia, he wrenched Schleswig - Holstein from Denmark. Austria assisted the Prussians in the hostilities against the Danes, but Bismarck refused her any share in the spoil. She protested vigorously against the annexation of the captured provinces by Prussia, and the seven weeks' war of 1866 was the result.

## UNHAPPY AUSTRIA!

Austria was brought to her knees by the victories of Sadowa and Koniggratz, and the hegemony of the German states passed to Prussia. Austria was driven out from the new organization of Germany, and she consented also to the surrender of Venetia to Italy. Out of this war sprang the North German Confederation, which included all the states north of the River Main. Bavaria and other South German states remained outside, but by the Zollverein irritating customs barriers were removed, and economic unity was established between North and South Germany, between its Protestant and its Catholic states. Political unity ensued upon the Franco-German war of 1870-71. That conflict, provoked by the inept diplomacy of Napoleon III., who regarded with alarm the rapid progress of Prussia, united all Germans and they flung themselves into it with the rapture of crusaders in a holy



war. Everywhere the German arms were victorious, and the Germany of to-day sprang into vigorous life.

Modern Germany is a federation of twenty-six different states. The basis of their compact organisation is a written constitution providing for perpetual unity, which came into force on May 18th, 1871. Of the federation, the King of Prussia is the hereditary president, and in this capacity he has the title of German Emperor. Many of the states have large autonomous powers, but the Emperor alone has supreme control over army and navy alike in peace and war. His executive power is limited, more in theory than in fact, by the federal council, a body consisting of representatives of all the states in the Empire.

### THE PRUSSIAN INFLUENCE

Prussia's influence on the Council is predominant. There is no analogue in Germany to parliamentary sovereignty as we know it in England. Though elected on a basis of universal suffrage, the Imperial Reichstag is little more than a debating society with a right to grumble. It exercises no control over the Government. A Cabinet in our sense does not exist. Ministers are responsible, not to the Reichstag, but to the Kaiser. "Germany has only one master, and that is me," said the present Emperor—an observation recalling that of Louis XIV.—"L'état c'est moi."

The founders of the new German constitution had no intention of mak-

ing any concession to democratic ideas, and they would have scoffed at the notion of parliamentary control. To Bismarck's typically Prussian mind, a benevolent despotism was the ideal of government. It must be added that Germany offered a favourable soil for the propagation of these autocratic ideas.

No country in the world owes more than Prussia does to the direct initiative of its sovereigns and statesmen, from the Great Elector down to Bismarck. In these historic traditions, and in the fact that German unity was achieved in living memory by the valour of German arms, is to be found an explanation of the extraordinary docility of the German people, their sheeplike submissiveness to their rulers, and their willingness, in spite of all their progress and culture, to be excluded from any effective share in the government of their own land.

### A WONDERFUL PROGRESS

From 1871 onwards, the progress of Germany in commerce, industry and wealth has been truly wonderful. Since Bismarck's time, the growth has proceeded at an accelerated pace and the volume of German commerce is now second only to that of Great Britain. In his domestic policy, Bismarck came into conflict at one time or another with the National Liberals and with the Catholic Church, but it was the growth of Social democracy that caused him most embarrassment. In the 'eighties, in order to appease the

working classes, he embarked on bold schemes of social legislation, including compulsory insurance against accident, ill-health, and old age. Meantime, the army which was the idol of the people, was kept at the topmost notch of efficiency. Universal military service is accepted without much demur in Germany, largely owing to the popular pride in the victories of 1870, and also to the ever-present fear which haunts every German heart, of the great Slav power on its eastern frontier. Even Social Democrats, who represent about one-third of the total voting strength of Germany, take not unkindly to the two years' service in the army.

Bismarck devoted his energies to the development of the internal resources and the consolidation of the strength of the newly-founded empire. Concentrating on these tasks, he refused to countenance any schemes of colonial expansion. His foreign policy was utterly unscrupulous, and signally successful. He sowed dissension between the great Powers, inflamed England against Russia, and kept up a chronic irritation between England and France. The Berlin Congress of 1878, which settled the Balkan boundaries after the Russo-Turkish war, showed what a commanding position Germany had won in Europe. In truth, under Bismarck, Germany acquired the primacy of the continent.

devoted pupil the present Emperor, who was eager to take the reins into his own hands. He was now 31 years old, and had been two years on the throne. "I shall be, I wish to be, my own prime minister," he exclaimed. The world saw in William II. an impulsive, versatile personality, whose foible was omniscience, who cultivated a high-flown oratorical style, who was fond of travel, and had a schoolboy's delight in military ostentation. At the outset of his reign, in his desire to win the affection of the working classes, he evinced a keen sympathy for ameliorative, social, and industrial legislation, and the International Labour Congress which met in Berlin in 1890 was due to his initiative. But the time was soon to come when he raged furiously against the Social Democrats.

The Emperor is a self-centred man of eager temperament, who really wants to play the part of father to his people, always on the condition of their being submissive and obedient—in short, they must be good children, to whom his will is law. Above all things, let them not prate about civil liberties, and aspire to a share in the government of the country. He is constantly reminding them that Germany has been made by his illustrious ancestors, and by German arms, wonderfully "supported," of course, "by God."

### DROPPING THE PILOT!

The Iron Chancellor was dismissed in 1890 by his apt, and, at one time,

### NO EMOTIONS!

Humanitarianism has never been allowed to deflect the course of

German policy. From time to time England has been swept by a passion for the rights of small peoples on the Continent, or has been stirred to the depths by the massacre of Bulgarians, or Armenians, in Turkey. German statesmen treat such ebullitions of humanitarian feeling with disdain. None of these emotions ever influence the foreign policy of Germany. Bismarck cynically said that the fate of the Balkan Christians was not worth the bones of a single Pomeranian Grenadier. The Kaiser is evidently of the same mind, notwithstanding his constant invocations of the Deity, and his quotations from the Bible. The world was scandalised in 1898 when he visited Turkey, and effusively greeted the Sultan, Abdul Hamid, whose hands were then reeking with the innocent blood of slaughtered Armenians. From the Constantinople shambles, the Emperor proceeded on a pious pilgrimage to the Holy Land, and preached a sermon on the Mount of Olives. All through his reign he has steadfastly courted Turkey, and seems specially anxious to propitiate Mussulman opinion.

Unlike Bismarck, the Emperor cherishes ardent colonial ambitions. His receptive mind quickly grasped the significance of naval power. He saw that as Germany became industrialised, it would become more and more dependent upon foreign sources of supply for raw materials and food supplies. Solicitude for the future of his country, and not mere personal ambition, make him long for naval

power and over-sea possessions. Germany arrived late into the circle of the great powers, and when she craved for over-sea expansion, found that most of the world had already been apportioned among the European powers. South America, it is true, offered an inviting and boundless field for exploitation, but there Germany was barred by the Monroe doctrine, as though the United States had erected across the South American continent a huge placard with the warning: "No European trespassers allowed."

#### AN ENGLISH TOUCH

The Kaiser seems to have inherited with his English blood, a passion for the sea. He loved to visit Hamburg or Bremen for the launch of a great liner, and was unwearying in offering encouragement to those great German shipping firms, the Hamburg-American, and the North German Lloyd. He was, in fact, a kind of Imperial commercial traveller for the expanding industries and trade of his country. For the protection of Germany's growing oversea trade, a German navy had become necessary, and, thanks chiefly to the inspiration of the Kaiser, the first Navy Bill was passed in 1897, providing for the creation of a modern fleet. Since then, the German navy, built up with characteristic efficiency and thoroughness, under the direction of Admiral von Tirpitz, has grown into the second most powerful navy in the world. Not content with her pre-



dominance on land, Germany seemed in fact to be deliberately challenging the naval supremacy of Great Britain.

"Our future is on the water," proclaimed the Kaiser, some years ago, and when the Russian fleet visited Danzig, he saluted the Czar with the grandiloquent phrase: "The Admiral of the Atlantic greets the Admiral of the Pacific."

The influence of the Kaiser has contributed to that aggressive egoism which is the note of modern Germany—an egoism that has been fostered by military pride, and by rapid industrial progress and commercial expansion. He has communicated to his people his own megalomaniac ideas. Fed on a diet of "blood and iron," nourishing themselves on Treitschke and Nietzsche—the one glorifying the cult of war, and the other preaching that for the superman the restraints of morality do not exist—exulting in their own efficiency, the Germans have become proud and arrogant, and the lust for world power has taken possession of their souls. France, a decadent Latin nation; England, with her cant about freedom, becoming effete; Russia, merely barbaric; Germany, the coming power—these are the ingrained beliefs of some of their modern teachers! Gone is the old idealism of Goethe and Schiller; gone the generous Liberalism which stood up manfully to Bismarck. In its place, a gross materialism, a blind worship of force, an overweening military pride—all this side by side with boastful talk about

German culture and the German spirit.

### LEARNED DRILL SERGEANTS

Even German professors have learned to talk and write like drill sergeants. At the same time that worldly prosperity has turned the head of the German people, worship of militarism has petrified the fine German intellect. What has been lost to the German mind has been gained by the military caste. Zabern was significant of much. It was a sign that the Germans had lost the instinct for civil freedom. That instinct could never have been pronounced since 1870, else the abominable repressive policy pursued in Prussian Poland would not have been tolerated. Prussianism has achieved great triumphs, but it has yet to learn the art of ruling with justice and sympathy an alien population. The evidence of its failure is writ large in Alsace-Lorraine on the one side, and in Prussian Poland on the other.

Since Bismarck's time, German foreign policy has been far from successful. We have seen a sample of its diplomacy in the White Paper issued by the British Foreign Office early in August. The Wilhelmstrasse cuts a very sorry figure in these despatches. If these are the ways and methods of German diplomacy, it is not surprising that it has not been more fruitful. Bismarck would turn in his grave could he know that

Russia and France had allied themselves together, that this had been supplemented by an Anglo-French Entente, and an Anglo-Russian agreement; that, finally, his country had plunged into a war with the three Powers, and had also affronted the moral sense of the world by a wanton invasion of unoffending Belgium. The mainspring of Bismarck's policy was the preservation of friendly relations with Russia. To-day, Russian armies are invading the Kaiser's beloved Prussia. Imitation Bismarcks have the master's vices without his virtues.

#### SPECTACULAR AND BARREN

Under William II., Germany's foreign policy has been at once spectacular and barren; he has talked much about the mailed fist, he has often rattled the German sabre in its scabbard, but he has not been able to satisfy the craving of his people for colonial expansion. German soreness over Morocco is understandable when we remember that the greatest military power in the world has had to sit idly by when the whole of North Africa fronting the Mediterranean, from Tangier to Alexandria, was being apportioned among her European rivals. She has seen France, her vanquished rival of 1870, add Morocco to her large colonial empire, which already included Tunis, Madagascar, Cochin China, Cambodia, and Senegambia. She has seen her own ally, Italy, take possession of Tripoli; she has seen

Egypt, the Transvaal, the Orange River Colony, and Rhodesia added to England's already immense oversea possessions. What has Germany obtained? ask the Pan-Germans with bitterness. Except for a wide sphere of influence in Asia Minor, it must be confessed she has got precious little. That, however, is due more to her late arrival on the scene, and to the restricted vision of Bismarck, than to deliberate hostility on the part of her rivals. Germans choose to see in it evidence rather of British antagonism. The acquisition of Morocco by France they attribute to British influence. They fret under the British command of the sea; they complain of their limited seaboard; they would like to take Holland; they lament the bad geographical situation which compels their ships to pass by the front door of Great Britain. In short, they are at odds with their fate. All the excursions and alarms for which the German Michael is responsible in the international sphere in the past decade, are attributable to this cause. And now, finally, in his exasperation he is striking out blindly at all and sundry in the spirit of Bernhardt's phrase: "World power or downfall."

#### THE REASONS WHY

German restlessness and German ambition are mainly responsible for the enormous expenditure on armaments that has been devouring the resources of Europe in the past twenty years. Having first trans-

formed Europe into an armed camp, Germany has now plunged the continent into this catastrophic war, which, whatever its outcome, will inflict infinite misery on mankind. The war is a struggle between two conflicting ideas—between the British

ideas of pacific progress, civil freedom, and public right, and the German ideals of militarism, despotism, and lawlessness. Britain is fighting in her historic rôle. Her cause is just. It must and will prevail.



## IV. THE RESURGENCE OF FRANCE

FRANCE was smitten to the ground by the disastrous war of 1870. Internal revolution succeeded the defeats in the field. When news of the fall of Sedan reached Paris the people rose in anger against the second Empire, the Empress Eugenie fled from the Tuileries, and the glittering fabric upreared by Napoleon III. was sent clattering to the ground. At a time of the gravest national emergency "a new government had to be created amid circumstances of peculiar hardship." After this Paris had to submit to the humiliation of a siege and watch the spectacle of the victorious German troops marching triumphant through her saddened streets. Then came anarchy and the wild excesses of the Communards. The Germans exacted a very heavy indemnity (£200,000,000), but the high-spirited nation found this much easier to bear than the loss of the two provinces of Alsace and beloved Lorraine.

France possesses an indestructible vitality. The rapidity of her recovery after the losses and disasters of the war amazed the whole world. "No nation," writes Prince Buelow, the German ex-Chancellor, "has ever

recovered so quickly as the French from the effects of national disaster. None has ever so easily regained elasticity, self-confidence and energy after grievous disappointments and apparently crushing defeats."

### CHARM AND POWER

It is true that for a time after 1870 French influence in the international sphere was at a low ebb, but in a few years the depression gave way and France was again confronting Europe with all her radiant charm and much of her old power. The master clue of French foreign policy must be sought in her longing for the restoration of the lost provinces. Bismarck, in securing for Germany a strong frontier on the Rhine, had no conception that the annexation of Alsace and Lorraine would be a menace to the peace of Europe for long years to come and would compel Germany and France always to be *en vedette*. Even in their most pacific moods the French people find Alsace and Lorraine tugging at their heart-strings. As Gambetta put it, "pensons y toujours ; n'en parlons jamais." It is this unhealed wound that has

kept Germany and France nations in arms even in time of peace, and has burdened Europe with the crushing weight of great armament.

It is a misfortune for France that, ever since the foundation of the third Republic, she has been weakened by internal discords. The early years of the Republic were clouded by the fear of a Royalist re-action. In 1873 Marshal MacMahon succeeded the illustrious Thiers as President and got his presidential term lengthened to seven years. It was commonly believed that MacMahon was simply a place-holder for the Orleanist prince, the Duc d'Aumale, and that he was ready to play the part which General Monk, in 1660, played so skilfully on behalf of our Charles II. The danger passed, but other acute domestic troubles arose. On all sides the Republic was menaced by the machinations of its enemies, clericals, monarchists, Bonapartists, and all the other discontents making common cause against it. In miserable succession came Panama scandals, the Boulangist agitation and the Dreyfus controversy. This last poisoned the life of the nation for five years. Anti-clericalism had meantime become the note of the Republicans of the Left, and there was a fierce war against the Church. All these squalid domestic controversies impaired the effective operation of French influence in the world.

#### WEALTH AND PROGRESS

Yet singular to relate France in this

period, notwithstanding its civil dissensions, grew in wealth and progress and dominion. A change is now perceptible in the French outlook on life. The new generation of Frenchmen are more buoyant and self-confident than their forerunners, who grew to manhood under the shadow of the disasters of 1870. Anti-clericalism, now that the danger to the Republic has passed away, has lost much of its rigour and there has been a remarkable renaissance in every department of French life. Mr. J. E. C. Bodley, in his masterly study of French institutions, noted as characteristic of modern France, "the diffusion of unambitious comfort and the evaporation of the colonising spirit." Among the French youth of to-day, moreover, manlier ideals prevail. They are bold, energetic, enterprising, with a great love of sport and a craving for action; and the influence of these qualities may spread like a leaven through the whole nation.

Despite the bitter memories of 1870 and the longing for *la revanche*, French foreign policy from 1870 to 1900 was decidedly anti-English. As a colonising power with extensive possessions in Asia and Africa, France came into conflict with England in many parts of the world. Bismarck, for his own interests, encouraged the French colonial ambitions and did his utmost to envenom Anglo-French relations. France had large interests in Egypt and it was the genius of a French engineer, M. de Lesseps, that

constructed the Suez Canal. It will be understood therefore with what bitterness the French learned in November, 1875, of the purchase by the British Government of the Khedive's (Ismail Pasha's) large holding of the Suez Canal shares for £4,000,000. It now became a deliberate policy on the part of France to impede British influence in Egypt in every way. The Dual Control in that country offered numerous opportunities for friction.

### IN ANCIENT EGYPT

France declined to co-operate with the British Government in 1882, to put down the rebellion of Arabi Pasha; and the subsequent occupation of the land of the Pharaohs by the British was bitterly resented in Paris. In 1883 Lord Granville informed the Great Powers that after peace and order had been established it was our intention to withdraw from Egypt. Pledges of withdrawal were subsequently given by Mr. Gladstone and Lord Salisbury. The non-fulfilment of those pledges was a subject of frequent comment in the French Press and there were many allusions to "perfidious Albion." That the promise to withdraw was honestly made, cannot be doubted; but circumstances made the fulfilment of the promise impossible.

Even the foes of England admitted that if we withdrew Egypt would collapse like an empty sack. Our occupation has brought peace, justice, prosperity to Egypt, and given a

tremendous impetus to the development of its economic resources. Egypt is not part of the British Empire. In theory it is still regarded as belonging to the Turks. The Sultan's Suzerainty over Egypt remains, and the annual subsidy which the Porte draws from that country is still paid,—in fact it has only been punctually paid since the British occupation.

In addition to Egypt, we had differences with France in further Asia, on the Niger and in New-foundland, old French fishing rights being involved in the last case.

### A SHIELD FROM TROUBLE

There was great delight in France in 1892 on the establishment of the Franco-Russian Alliance. Singular to recall, on the Russian side that alliance had an anti-English edge, for at that period there was constant trouble between the Russian and the British Empires over Asiatic questions. England at this time had not a friend in Europe, and when the Kaiser sent his telegram of congratulation to President Kruger on the success of the Boers in repelling the Jameson raid of December 29th, 1895, he was voicing not merely German, but also Russian and French opinion.

Our relations with France nearly reached the breaking point in the autumn of 1898 when the French flag was hoisted by Major Marchand at Fashoda, the chief town in the Soudan province of Bahr-el-Ghazal.



War seemed imminent; but the French yielded, though with a sore heart. The outbreak of the South African War in 1899 showed that France, Germany and Russia were all equally sympathetic to England. It is greatly to the credit of M. Delcassé that he declined the proposal of the Russian Minister, Count Mouravieff, that France should co-operate with the other European Powers in joint action against England at that critical epoch in our affairs. After the South African War, Anglo-French relations underwent a marked improvement. Old prejudices against France and against Russia lingered, however, in the minds of the late Lord Salisbury and Queen Victoria, and could not be easily eradicated. Delcassé worked with tireless zeal for the removal of causes of difference between the two powers. King Edward's visit to Paris in 1903 gave a powerful impetus to the good work, and eventually in April, 1904 (following upon an arbitration treaty between the two countries, which had been signed on October 14th, 1903), the Anglo-French agreement was successfully negotiated by M. Delcassé and Lord Lansdowne. The agreement settled all outstanding differences between the two Powers on the Niger, in Siam, Tunis, Madagascar, Newfoundland, Egypt, and Morocco. It was, to all intents and purposes, a treaty of peace such as two Powers would usually conclude only after a costly war.

### AN INSTRUMENT OF PEACE

The agreement was negotiated without any *arrière pensée* against Germany, and it is one of the tragedies of diplomacy that a great instrument of peace should have had the effect of embittering feeling in Germany. Both Governments asserted in the agreement that they are "equally attached to the principle of commercial liberty both in Egypt and Morocco." At the time Germany offered no objection because the agreement clearly provided that there should be an "open door" in Morocco. It became known, however, that there were secret clauses under which England, in the event of any change in the political *status quo* in Morocco, undertook to recognize the predominance of France in that country. In effect, England guaranteed France a free hand in Morocco in return for the renunciation of French rights in Egypt. This aroused Germany's suspicion. She felt that her interests were affected, because German trade with Morocco is second only to the trade of England, and her *amour propre* was wounded because she had been treated as a negligible quantity in an important international decision.

Suddenly on March 31st, 1905, the German Emperor landed at Tangier to assert German rights and defend the independence of Morocco. France gave way and consented to refer the Morocco question to an international conference. Germany's activities

brought about the downfall of M. Delcassé, who resigned his office as Foreign Minister. The Algeciras Conference followed, and Germany succeeded in ensuring the "open door" in Morocco for the trade of all countries. In the descent on Tangier the Kaiser had acted up to his declaration made in November, 1898: "The three hundred million Mohammedans who live scattered over the globe may be assured of this, that the German Emperor will be their friend at all times."

#### STROKE AND COUNTER-STROKE

Less successful was the stroke of policy that sent the German vessel "Panther" to Agadir in 1911. In 1905 England was in the position rather of a detached observer, though throughout the Algeciras Conference she stood loyally by France. The situation in 1911 was very different. It seemed to us that France was challenged merely because of her friendship with England. Moreover, Agadir is a port commanding one of the great British trade routes. The consequence was an energetic remonstrance by Sir Edward Grey against the *coup D'Agadir* and Mr. Lloyd George's warning

speech at the Mansion House. Germany backed down, but with an ill grace. German pride was wounded, and the Pan-Germans became more Anti-French and Anti-English than ever. Nor did the cordial co-operation of France and England with Germany in the Balkans in 1912 allay their irritation. Meantime, France behaved with singular restraint. Her people and her Government have earnestly striven to preserve the peace of Europe. The extremists in Germany could not, however, endure the thought that vanquished France should be able to add to her great oversea possessions. We take the following quotations from Prince Buelow's book on Germany:

"In the course of the last twenty-five years France has founded a colonial empire that much more than compensates her for the loss of land and population she suffered in Europe, and has thus raised herself to the position of the second greatest colonial Power in the world. Her possessions in North Africa, which lie at her very gates, have been nearly doubled by the acquisition of Morocco."

This is the offence of France. For this the Bernhardis desired to crush her.

## V. THE DESTINY OF RUSSIA

THE Russian Empire is second only in extent to the British Empire. It embraces two-thirds of the continent of Europe, and two-fifths of the continent of Asia. Its population, estimated at one hundred and sixty millions, is rapidly increasing, more rapidly, indeed, than the population of any other country in the world. Russia has all the vigour, virility, and self-confidence of youth. The Germans, entrenched in their Teutonic self-conceit, despise their Slav neighbours as barbarians. The Russians, on their part, repay this contumely with a profound dislike of the Germans. Nowhere in the wide world is there another instance of mutual antagonism so strong and deep as that between the Germans and the Russians. It is an antagonism, not so much of politics, as of peoples.

### A CHARMING PEOPLE

The Russians have frank, amiable, gracious manners; and their easy-going negligence is in sharp contrast to the rigidity, sternness and punctiliousness of the Germans. It is the fashion in Germany to exalt German culture in contrast with Russian backwardness; but in the past half-

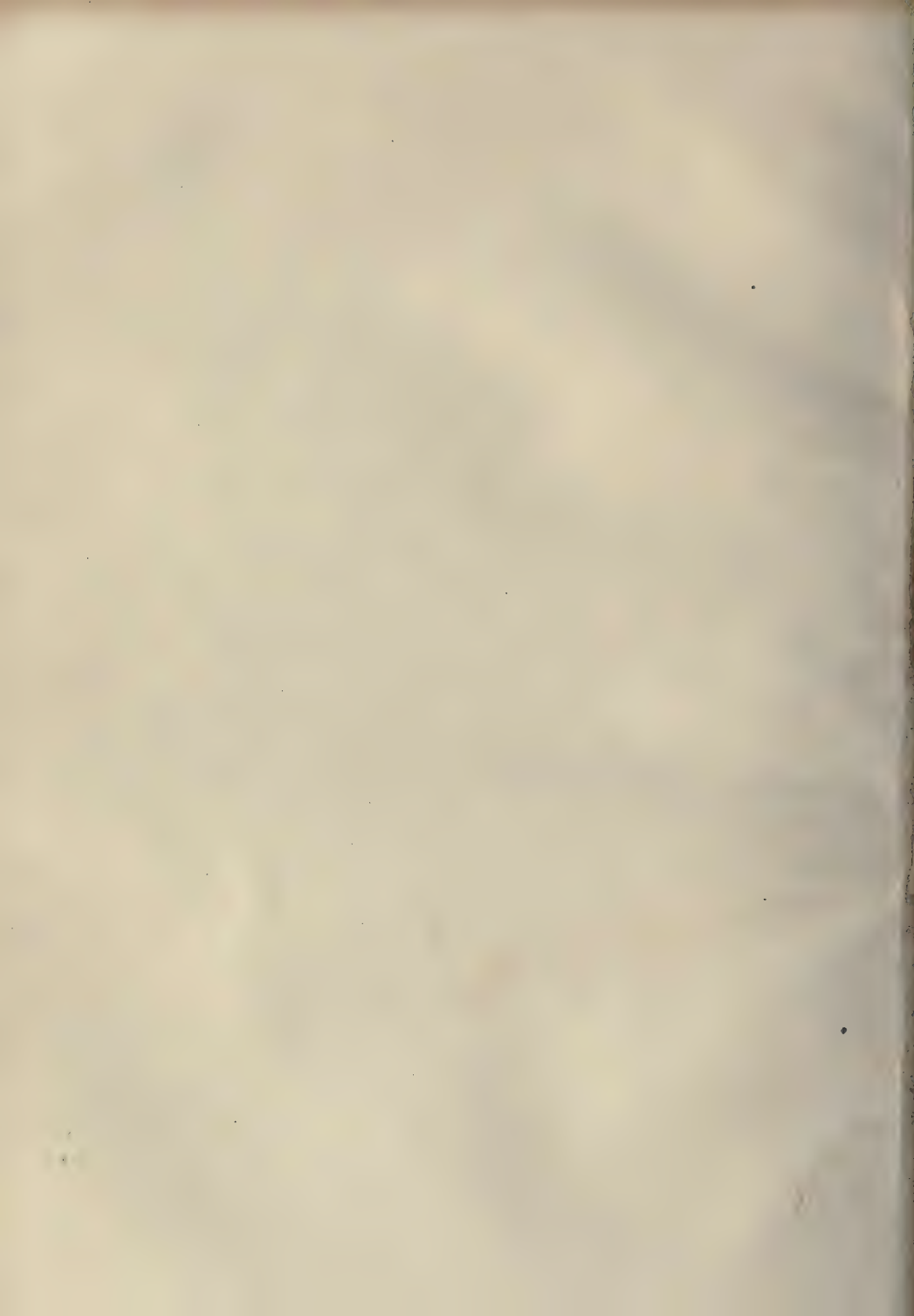
century the extraordinary achievements of the Russians in literature, music, painting, medicine, and historical science, have proved conclusively that the Slav is one of the most gifted of the world's races. In imaginative literature, and in the power of psychological analysis the Russians are quite peerless. Gogol, Dostoievsky, Turgeniev, Tolstoy, Gorki, have fascinated the civilized world. Tolstoy, with his enthusiasm of humanity, his passion of pity for the outcast, his zeal for self-renunciation, his noble simplicity, is as wide as the poles asunder from Nietzsche, who despised pity as sentimentalism, who would trample on weakness, and who prostrated himself in adoration before mere Force, no matter how lawless, though Force in itself is no more adorable than Fraud, which is the force of those who are physically weak.

### EXPANSION I

The expansion of Russia in the nineteenth century has staggered humanity by reason of the vastness of its scale, and the singular success with which it has been accomplished. Russia has moved eastward with all







the sureness and the irresistible force of a natural law. Many peoples and countries have been absorbed into the mighty Empire of the Tsar. Manchuria, so long under the sway of the Chinese, is now Russified, and in the ancient kingdom of Persia, Russian influence is overwhelming. In her policy Russia is not scrupulous, but she has unmatched skill in reconciling alien populations to her sway. Lord Curzon, who has travelled extensively in Central Asia, testifies that Russian dominion is not merely accepted by, but acceptable to, the bulk of her Asiatic subjects. The Russians, are in their own way, zealous Christians, but in their Asiatic dominions proselytism is tabooed, and there is absolute freedom of worship for the Mohammedans. It is curious that the Russians are cordially liked even by the peoples whom they have recently subdued. This is due, in some degree, to the fact that the Russian yoke is easy, and that it has brought with it peace, order, and prosperity; but, perhaps, it is due even more to the winning charm of the Russian character, with its insouciance and genuine *bonhomie*.

#### EASY-GOING

For all their easy-going methods, the Russians have profound faith in the high destiny of their race. That faith is well justified by their past, and by the rich promise of their future. "An insignificant tribe, or collection of tribes, which 1,000 years ago was confined to a small district

near the sources of the Dnieper and the Western Dvina, has grown into a great nation, with a vast territory stretching from the Baltic to the Northern Pacific, and from the Polar Ocean to the frontiers of Turkey, Persia, Afghanistan, and China." As Sir Donald Mackenzie Wallace truly says: "We have here a big fact." Indeed, it is one of the great facts of world history.

We shall get a clear view of Russian foreign policy by keeping before our minds three elemental facts which supply the clue to all the workings of Russian diplomacy.

First and foremost is the desire for a warm water port. Russia longs, above all things, for free access to the oceans of the world in all seasons of the year. At present her three great bays—the Gulf of Riga, the Gulf of Finland, and the White Sea—are all choked with ice for a certain part of every year. Even the recently-acquired port of Vladivostok on the Northern Pacific, is sometimes ice-bound. The Black Sea is a Russian lake, but Russian warships are forbidden to enter it or to leave it, and the key to its doors is in the hands of Turkey. Thus Russia's way to the warm waters of the Mediterranean is barred.

#### THE GREEK CHURCH

The second elemental fact is that Russia is the great home of the Greek Church. Russians are devoted to their religion. Their faith came to them from Constantinople, when it



was the seat of the Byzantine Empire, and there is a deep longing in the heart of pious Russians to see the cross, instead of the crescent, wave over a city consecrated to them by so many religious memories. After the capture of Constantinople by the Turks in the fifteenth century, the Grand Prince of Moscow became the Protector of the orthodox faith. "To strengthen this claim," writes Sir D. M. Wallace, "Ivan III. married a niece of the last Byzantine Emperor, and his successors went farther in the same direction by assuming the title of Tsar, and inventing a fable about their ancestor Rurik having been a descendant of Cæsar Augustus." Thus religious ideals, as well as economic interests, push Russia towards Constantinople.

The third elemental fact is Slavophil sentiment. Consciousness of racial unity among the Slavs was stimulated by the success of the Germans and Italians in achieving national unity. Fragments of the Slav race are scattered over the Balkans. Between them and the Russians there is not only racial affinity, but also the strong tie of religious sympathy, for Bulgars and Serbs are adherents of the Greek Church. It is owing to these ties of race and religion that Russia has played the rôle of liberator to the Christian populations of the Balkans.

#### AN OLD-TIME ALARM

Russia used to be credited with deep designs upon India. This idea

was responsible for all the excursions and alarms on the north-western frontier of India in the second half of the nineteenth century. More rational ideas now prevail on this subject, both in England and India. Russia is already gorged with territory, which will take her generations to develop. Moreover, with the advantages that modern weapons give to the defence, India, with its great mountain barrier, is invulnerable by land. But the truth is that Russia never had serious designs on India. Her periodical demonstrations on the Afghan frontier were intended merely as a reply to British resistance to Russian policy in Europe. It must be remembered that for two generations the preservation of the integrity of the Turkish Empire, and strong opposition to Russian designs at Constantinople, were guiding principles of English foreign policy. "Russia must rule the Bosphorus," wrote Skobelev in 1877; "on this depends not only her greatness as a power of the first magnitude, but also her defensive security, and the correspondent development of her manufactures and trade." This idea, long prevalent among Russian statesmen, was thought to be antagonistic to British interests. Hence the anti-Russian policy of Sir Stratford de Redcliffe in Constantinople in the 'fifties, and Mr. Disraeli's Russophobia in the 'seventies. Russia's reply to British hostility was to stir up trouble on the Indian frontier. "Her object was not Calcutta, but

Constantinople ; not the Ganges, but the Golden Horn."

The melancholy excesses of anti-semitism and the harsh treatment of political prisoners have, in the past, contributed to a feeling of hostility towards Russia among the British people. But at the present time there is a recrudescence of liberal ideas throughout that vast territory, and the effect of these is assisted by the Anglo-Russian agreement negotiated by Sir Edward Grey, in 1907. The English have always been popular in Russia. There is some magnetic attraction between the Russian and the English character. The alliance of the two countries in the present war against the military despotism of Germany will have a liberalising influence from one end of Russia to the other.

#### THE NAPOLEONIC TIME

It is not always recognized that Russia of all the land powers in Europe, did most to rescue the Continent from the thralldom of the Napoleonic tyranny. Alexander I. the liberal Tsar, was at first attracted by the glamour of Napoleon's genius, but after some experience of Napoleon's ways, admiration gave way to repulsion. When in 1812 the great Conqueror advanced into Russia, on that disastrous expedition which marked the beginning of his descent from the dizzy height he had climbed, Alexander said with spirit, "I would rather bury myself beneath the Empire's ruins than treat with this new

Attila." In 1813, Russia took part in the famous battle of the nations at Leipzig, when Napoleon was defeated. The following year, in Paris, Alexander took the lead in the peace negotiations. It was he who insisted that France must not be weakened, and the European equilibrium destroyed ; it was he who advised the new French king, Louis XVIII., to adopt a constitutional system of government. The magnanimity of the Tsar made him the idol of the French people. It is worth recalling that among those who witnessed the entry of the allied forces into Paris in the spring of 1814, was Sir Walter Scott, "who saw, among the Tsar's troops, horsemen from the neighbourhood of the Great Wall armed with bows and arrows."

#### THE UNSPEAKABLE TURK !

Russia assisted the liberation of the Greeks from the Turkish yoke, and underwent heavy sacrifices for the emancipation of the Balkan Christians. In 1833, by the Treaty of Unkiar Skelessi, Russia engaged to defend Turkey against all attacks, Turkey on her part undertaking to close the Dardanelles against the navy of any power with which Russia might be at war. This Treaty gave umbrage to the other Powers, and it was superseded in 1841 by the "Convention of the Straits." Under this, the five Great Powers, including Russia, gave a collective guarantee for the preservation of Turkey's independence



and of the neutrality of the Dardanelles. The Tsar, Nicholas I., during his visit to England in 1844, told Queen Victoria "Turkey is falling to pieces. I don't covet an inch of Turkey's soil, but I will not allow any other Power to appropriate a single inch. I will do all I can to preserve the *status quo*, but we must come to terms on some fair basis." Nevertheless in 1854, came the Crimean War, which sprang in the first instance out of a wretched ecclesiastical quarrel concerning the holy places in Bethlehem. This quarrel was really due to the designs of Napoleon III. Russia replied by demanding from the Porte a Convention securing to her an absolute Protectorate over all members of the Greek Church in the Turkish Empire. Emboldened by the advice of the French and British Ambassadors, the Sultan rejected the demand, and war resulted. It was a profitless war for all concerned.

### THE SERFS EMANCIPATED

Before the Crimean War ended the Tsar, Nicholas died. He was succeeded by Alexander II., a benevolent despot of an enlightened type, to whom belongs the glory of the emancipation of the Serfs, a sweeping measure of reform, passed in 1861, which raised 47 million Russians to the status of free men. In 1870, Russia repudiated several provisions of the Treaty of Paris (1856), under which her action in the Black Sea

was hampered. In 1871, at a Conference in London, the Powers agreed that the clause limiting Russia freedom in the Black Sea should be expunged, but confirmed the Sultan's right to close the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus to ships of war. In 1876, a powerful Slav agitation arose in Russia, quickened by sympathy with the Balkan Christians who were rising against the abominable misrule of the Turks. Russia desired common action with Austria for the purpose of freeing the Balkan peoples, but the Emperor Francis Joseph declined, on the ground that Austrian interests would be injured by the establishment of a Slav state on the lower reaches of the Danube. He also intimated that any drastic changes in the Balkans would compel him to seek compensation in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Turkey repressed the rebellion with brutal severity.

At this time occurred those horrible atrocities in Bulgaria, which moved Gladstone to the depths, and set him forth presently on that pilgrimage of passion in Midlothian, whose fruits were seen in the British Liberal victory of 1880. Meanwhile the Russo-Turkish War, 1877-78, had ended in a victory for Russia and the Tsar's troops reached the suburbs of Constantinople. "On February 24th, 1878, the main body of the Russian forces came in sight of the beautiful city which was bathed in early Spring sunshine. It inspired the war-worn troops with rapture. For centuries a belief had been current throughout



the Russian empire that one day Tsar-grad would be restored to the Christian faith, and that the desecrated Cathedral of St. Sophia would again re-echo the sweet plaintive melodies of the Greek ritual. The invaders with one accord fell upon their knees, and then embraced each other with fervent enthusiasm."

### MAKING NEW NATIONS

By the peace terms signed at St. Stefano, Servia obtained a large increase of territory, Roumania became independent, the territory of Montenegro was trebled, a new Principality of Bulgaria was formed, and Bosnia and Herzegovina were to be made autonomous states. Alarmed by the growth of Slav influence in the Balkans, Austria concluded a secret agreement with England, and subsequently by the Berlin Congress the St. Stefano terms were whittled down to very small results. The Treaty of Berlin restored Macedonia to Turkey, and gave to Austria the right of occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Russia's gains were, therefore, nowhere in proportion to her heavy sacrifices in men and money, whereas Austria, without firing a shot, obtained two provinces on the Adriatic with a large Slav population. When these facts are borne in mind, it will be understood how natural was the intense indignation in Russia in 1908, when Austria annexed Bosnia and Herzegovina, and when the German Emperor, taking his stand in "shining

armour" beside his ally, dared anyone to interfere.

The Treaty of Berlin sowed the seeds of fresh trouble in the Balkans, and flung back under the dominion of the Sultan the hapless people of Macedonia, who had been liberated by Russian arms. Throughout Russia the disappointing results of the war produced feelings of the deepest disappointment among all sections of the nation, for they saw in it a frustration of Russia's racial, political and religious aims. The Russians put the blame on Bismarck, who was the Chairman of the Congress; and from that moment Russo-German relations, which, in spite of the popular antipathies of the two peoples, had long been cordial, began to cool. Bismarck had for some time been encouraging Russia to turn her face to Asia. "Russia," he said, "has no concern with the West, where she acquires nothing but Nihilism and other social maladies. Her mission is in Asia; there she represents civilization." To Asia Russia now directed her gaze.

### DEVELOPMENT!

In the 'eighties, rapid progress was made in industrial development and vast works of railway extension were set on foot in European and Asiatic Russia. All this meant money. The Berlin money market being closed to her, Russia turned to France, and from the year 1888 onwards, many millions of francs, saved by thrifty Frenchmen, have gone to

the development of Russia's economic resources. In 1894, the grand project of the Trans-Siberian Railway, a line over 4,000 miles long, was begun. Meantime, France and Russia were being drawn closer together, and in 1892 their relations hardened into the Franco-Russian Alliance. Long isolated in Europe, France was enheartened by this Alliance with the Colossus of the North. French hopes were chilled in 1898 by the Tsar's appeal for disarmament, and his invitation to the Powers, great and small, to participate in a Peace Conference. In the Tsar's rescript occurs this striking phrase—"military and naval objects attack public prosperity at its very source, and divert national energies from useful aims." The rescript proved that the Tsar was indisposed to encourage French aspirations for a war of revenge, that he desired the maintenance of the *status quo* on the Continent; and that he was sincerely anxious to relieve Europe from the monstrous burden of armaments. It is a melancholy fact that, in spite of the noble initiative of the Russian Emperor, the growth of expenditure on armaments has proceeded at an accelerated pace since 1899, when the first Hague Congress assembled.

#### A PACIFIC TALE

In the far East, Russia was soon destined to come into conflict with Japan, whose defeat of China, in 1894, revealed to the world that a

new Power had risen in the Pacific, and that the huge Empire of China was on the verge of dissolution. Japan was robbed of the fruits of her victory over China by joint action on the part of Russia, France, and Germany, and the Liao-Tung Peninsula, ceded to Japan by the peace terms, was restored to China. There followed an unedifying scramble for Chinese territory, in which Russia and Germany played an equally inglorious part. Under the wise guidance of Lord Rosebery, Great Britain refused to join in the confederation to humiliate Japan, and in 1902, a treaty of Alliance between Japan and England was established. Two years later came war between Japan and Russia. In that war, Russia was defeated on land and sea. Such is her vital energy, however, that in a few years she had recovered completely from the effects of that disastrous campaign.

In 1907, the Anglo-Russian agreement was signed. It was concerned only with Central Asian problems, and was practically limited to the crumbling kingdom of the Shah. But the healing influence of the agreement was not confined to Asia. It had a soothing effect on Anglo-Russian relations all round. In place of the old policy of mutual suspicion, cordiality and confidence were established between London and Petersburg—or, to give it its new name, Petrograd.

## UPS AND DOWNS

We have seen that Russo-German relations took a turn for the worse after the Berlin Congress of 1878. They were not improved by the Alliance between Germany and Austria-Hungary that Bismarck concluded in 1879. Five years later, however, Bismarck succeeded in establishing an *entente* between the three Emperors. But nothing could get over the inherent antagonism between Russian and Austrian policy in the Balkans. The Bulgarian question, in 1886, broke up the *entente* of the three Empires, and from that year, Russia and Germany began to drift apart. The Franco-Russian Alliance completed the estrangement. In 1908 came the Bosnian crisis and Russia's unavailing protest against the action of Austria. In the grave crisis caused by the Balkan war, in 1912-13, Russia materially helped the work of Sir Edward Grey as peacemaker of Europe.

In the summer of the present year (1914) the murder of the Archduke Francis Ferdinand, heir to the Austrian throne, horrified all Europe. There was universal sympathy with the Emperor Francis Joseph, not least in Russia, which, like England, sent sincere messages of condolence to Vienna. The Russian Government of all Governments is the one that has least sympathy with regicide ;

but when it was seen that Austria was making use of the feelings of indignation aroused by the assassination in order to promote its own political ends, a perilous situation arose. Thanks to Russian persuasion, Servia, though denying all complicity with the Serajevo crime, went a long way to meet the Austrian demands. She agreed, indeed, to humiliating conditions. It was, however, soon evident that Austria wanted not the satisfaction of her demands, but simply an opportunity for humiliating and crushing Servia. That energetic Slav State on her southern frontier, with its growing power and large political ambitions, inspired the statesmen of the Dual Monarchy with dread and misgiving. Russia had no special love for Servia, but she could not suffer the obliteration of a Slav State, or the destruction of Russian influence in a region like the Balkans, where Russian blood and treasure have been poured forth with a lavish hand. Thus Austria unchained forces that were bound to come into violent collision. It is on the shoulders of her statesmen and on those of Germany that the terrible responsibility lies for the war that has transformed Europe into a hell. That war will settle many questions. One of them is whether Russian or German influence, Slavonic or Teutonic, is to be dominant in the Balkans.



## VI. AUSTRIA, ITALY, AND THE BALKANS

"AUSTRIA is not a country but a bureaucracy." So said Mazzini, the famous Italian revolutionist and patriot. It was an illuminating saying, containing much more truth than the old Austrian gibe that Italy was only a geographical expression. No country in Europe contains so many diverse races as Austro-Hungary. Quite one-half of the total population is Slavonic, about one-fourth German, and the remainder Magyars, Roumanians, Jews and Italians. The differences between these subjects of the Emperor Francis Joseph, are not merely in race, but in customs, manners, language, religion, ideals. From this diversity of races and their conflicting interests has resulted the weakness of the Austro-Hungarian Empire in modern times. It may be that its military weakness is due to the same cause. Anyhow, the Austrians in modern times have been uniformly unsuccessful in war.

### BRED TO MISFORTUNE

In the nineteenth century Austria had a succession of misfortunes. They began in 1809 when she had to cede territory to France, Russia and Saxony. Then presently sprang up

the disastrous rivalry with Prussia. After the collapse of the Holy Roman Empire in 1806 the Germanic nations formed a loose kind of union, with the grand name of the German Confederation. But the union was chiefly distinguished by the absence of all Federal characteristics. The primacy in the Confederation belonged to Austria, whose historical prestige was high. It was a primacy that carried little authority and did not amount to much more than to confer a right of presiding on the Austrian Ambassador over the meetings of the German Diet in the historic city of Frankfort.

Bismarck pushed Austria out of Germania; and the hegemony of the German states passed to Prussia, under whose lead a real German Confederation was built up, with the King of Prussia as its hereditary president. The ejection of Austria from the German Diet took place in 1866, consequent upon the seven-weeks' war. Prussia, as the result of that war, obtained Hanover, Hesse-Cassel, Nassau and part of Hesse-Darmstadt, the reversion to Brunswick and the acknowledgment of her right to the supreme military and diplomatic leadership of the new

North-German Confederation. After the war between France and Germany (1870-1), the North German Confederation was superseded by the German Empire, which embraces all Germany, North and South.

#### WOUNDED PRIDE

The loss of the leadership of the German states was wounding to the pride of Austria. But she found it harder to bear the loss of territorial dominion in North Italy. The Austrian domination was hateful to the Italians. No alien rule was ever more detested than that of Austria in Lombardy and Venetia, those two fine Italian provinces steeped in historic memories. The Italian peninsula had been cut up like a chess-board by the Congress of Vienna at the close of the Napoleonic wars. A national party was formed in Italy to expel the alien rulers and to unify the whole country. Hence from time to time there were revolutionary movements now in Naples, now in Parma, now in Milan, now in Venice. In 1859 the Austrians were driven out of Lombardy by the victories of the allied troops of Italy and France. Clerical influences, concerned about the preservation of the temporal sovereignty of the Pope, induced Napoleon III. to conclude abruptly the peace of Villafranca greatly to the disgust of the Italians, who desired to liberate all North Italy, from the Alps to the Adriatic. The result of the war was the handing over of Lombardy to Victor Emmanuel, King of Sardinia,

the formation of a confederation of States, under the Pope, and the retention of Venetia by Austria. After the conquest of Southern Italy in 1860 and the invasion of the Papal States, Victor Emmanuel was proclaimed King of Italy in 1861. At the suggestion of Bismarck, who for Prussia's purpose wanted a hostile Italy on the flank of Austria at this time, a treaty of alliance, defensive and offensive, was signed in 1865 between Italy and Prussia at Berlin. The war of 1866 followed. Austria was badly beaten, and by the peace terms Venetia was ceded to Italy.

#### THE DESPOTIC REALM

Ever since the days of Metternich, Austria has been regarded as the embodiment of despotic ideas. Liberals throughout Europe looked upon her as the arch-enemy of nationalism and democratic progress. Hapsburg pride and the rigid etiquette of the Vienna court combined to excite the prejudice of progressive people. Austria's disgraceful treatment of Italy and her savagery in Hungary drew upon her the execrations of democratic Europe. When in 1848 a wind of freedom passed over the Continent, popular risings took place in Hungary and Bohemia. Metternich, the stubborn old reactionary who had been styled "the policeman of Europe," was driven from office; and the Emperor Ferdinand, following the example of Charles V. at the time of the Reformation, abdicated. He was succeeded by his nephew, Francis

Joseph, the present Emperor who, ascending the throne in his nineteenth year, is still reigning at the great age of eighty-four.

The rising in Bohemia was suppressed. Hungary, led by Kossuth, was a tougher proposition. Severe hostilities took place in 1849, and, but for the aid of Russian troops, the Hungarians would not have been subdued. Austria treated the vanquished people with atrocious cruelty. General Haynau won an unenviable notoriety by his savagery, and became known throughout Europe as "General Hyena." Lord Palmerston scandalized the European chancelleries by himself using this opprobrious nickname. He was only voicing British opinion, and when, in later years Haynau visited London he was mobbed by the workmen in Barclay & Perkins' brewery in Southwark. In the shootings, floggings and hangings which followed the defeat of the Hungarians, many noble Magyar families suffered.

One of the victims of the Austrian tyranny was a son of the Countess Karolyi, who vented her indignation in pronouncing a terrible curse on the young Emperor: "May Heaven and Hell blast his happiness! May his family be exterminated! May he be smitten in the persons of those he loves! May his life be wrecked and his children be brought to ruin!" Francis Joseph at this time was a very young man, and could hardly be responsible for the atrocities committed by his agents; but on

many occasions in the past forty years, tragic events in his life have recalled the Countess Karolyi's curse. His brother, the ill-fated Maximilian, was shot in Mexico in 1867; his only son, the Crown Prince Rudolph, died by his own hand in 1889; his wife, the beautiful Empress Elizabeth, was killed by an anarchist in 1898; his nephew and heir, Archduke Francis Ferdinand, and his wife were assassinated in 1914.

#### A GLIMPSE OF FREEDOM

Hungary did not obtain free institution until Austria had been weakened by the war with Prussia. In 1867 the Emperor Francis Joseph was solemnly crowned King of Hungary at the ancient capital of Buda-Pesth, and the Dual Monarchy, as we know it, started forth on its career.

Great bitterness against Prussia was left by the events of 1866, and Austria had negotiated a secret treaty with France. When the Franco-German war broke out, Napoleon III. and his Ministers expected Austrian help, but it was not forthcoming. Austria was afraid to move lest Russia should come to the assistance of Prussia. Driven out of Germany, Austria turned her gaze southwards. Turkey was the "sick man of Europe," and the hungry Powers gathered like so many vultures around his bed. Austria, with her limited seaboard, looked with covetous eyes down the Adriatic; and landward she beheld the glittering prize of Salonika, a noble sea-port offering



easy access to the Mediterranean. The progress of the Slav powers in the Balkans filled her with deep misgiving. A Balkan Slav Confederation would swing in Russia's orbit, and Austrian statesmen set themselves to oppose the Slav ideal with all their energy. After the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-8, Austria and England entered into a secret agreement to prevent Russian aggrandizement. The consequences of this were seen in the decision of the Berlin Congress that Bosnia and Herzegovina should be "occupied" by Austria as the mandatory of Europe. Intense indignation was caused in Russia and in the Balkans by this decree, for most of the Bosnians are Slav in race, and they owed their emancipation from Turkish tyranny to Russian sacrifices. From this moment dates the desperate Austro-Russian rivalry in the Balkans. Russia was not prepared to see the peoples whom she had liberated from Turkish oppression pass under the dominion of Austria. The rivalry was embittered by religious animosities, Austrian Catholics despising the Greek Church.

### GALLANT LITTLE SERVIA

Servia, a Slav state whose boundaries march with those of Austria, was meanwhile growing in strength and prosperity. Servia's progress was a source of pride to the Slavs in Austria. The young State aspired to be a greater Servia and longed for an outlet on the Adriatic. Austro-

Hungary thwarted all her ambitions, and in tariff wars showed that the economic life of the Servians was almost completely at her mercy. Profiting by the distractions in Turkey consequent on the Young Turk revolution, Austria in 1908 formally annexed Bosnia and Herzegovina. This action produced a violent anti-Austrian agitation in Servia, and it seemed for a few weeks as if she would declare war against her powerful neighbour. Russia and England protested against Austria's action, and proposed a conference of the Powers to regularize an annexation that violated the law of Europe. Thereupon the German Emperor prepared to mobilize his army, and took his stand "in shining armour" beside his ally. This was decisive, and Austria won a diplomatic triumph.

Since 1879, when Bismarck negotiated a treaty of alliance between Germany and Austria, German influence had grown at Vienna, and now it was all-pervading. Germany has her own ambitions and knows that in the extension of Austria's influence in the south-east of Europe, German economic interests and political ambitions will be furthered. Germany wants access to the Mediterranean through Salonika, and this historic port would also serve her admirably in the promotion of her schemes in Asia Minor, where she has obtained extensive concessions, not the least of which is that for the construction of the Bagdad railway.

## PLEASING THE SULTAN

It has for years been a cardinal maxim of German policy to play up to the Sultan with the object of promoting German interests in Constantinople. When all Europe shuddered at the stories of massacres of Christians by authority in Turkey, it was German and Austrian influence that paralysed the working of the Concert of Europe and allowed Adbul Hamid to wreak his sanguinary will with impunity. As for Austria, it has been her undisguised policy to keep the Balkan States weak and divided and to set Bulgar and Serb against each other. By some perverse fate it would seem as though it were Austria's destiny always to be in conflict with the National Idea. The cry of "The Balkans for the Balkan peoples" excites her uncompromising hostility. This being the Austrian attitude, it will be realized with what horror Vienna and Berlin learnt of the military strength of the Balkan peoples as revealed in the wars of 1912-13.

Coercive and unenlightened methods of government generally have produced feelings of deep discontent among the large Slavonic population in the Austrian Empire. Hungary itself, which ought to have learnt the lesson of nationalism, deliberately pursues a policy of repression and restriction towards the Slavs. As the Slavs in Austria-Hungary number 26,000,000, the folly of this reactionary policy is self-evident. No wonder that in Austria there are bitter racial

feuds and far-reaching discontent. Austria seeks to rule the medley of foreign nations under her sway by keeping them in subjection and by setting nation against nation. Anti-nationalism has been the note of Austrian policy for centuries; it is its note to-day, not only within its own confines, but also in the Balkans.

## SAVING EUROPE!

Largely through the efforts of Sir Edward Grey, the war in the Balkans in 1912-13 was prevented from spreading into a European conflagration. Servia obtained accessions of territory after that war, but Austria succeeded in frustrating her ambition for a port on the Adriatic sea. The Austrians, hitherto steady opponents of the National idea, suddenly discovered a great enthusiasm for nationalism in Albania. Nominally for the sake of Albania, Servia was despoiled of Alessis, Durazzo, and Giovanni Di Medua, and Montenegro of Scutari. Naturally, Servian feeling against Austria was embittered when she was thus robbed of the fruit of her victories. Austrian and German policy in the South-East was frankly expressed by a well-known Austrian publicist, who pointed out how the growth of Servia had made an alteration in the military equilibrium disadvantageous to Austria. He wrote as follows: "We demand a strong Albania, not for the Albanians, but for ourselves, for the function of that State is to serve as a bulwark against the advance of Slavism to the Adriatic.

A great Albania must be the counterpoise to a great Serbia. It must be the bridge across which Central Europe can carry its influence over the Western Balkans, free from Slavonic interference. But these functions can only be undertaken by an Albania of great strength and vigour, which promises to live."

### SOME BITTER MEMORIES

Though a European war was avoided, lacerating memories were left behind after the Balkan conflict, and the racial rivalry grew in fierceness. On June 29th of the present year (1914) the heir to the Austrian throne, Archduke Franz Ferdinand and his Consort were assassinated at Serajevo in Bosnia. All Europe was horrified by the crime. Early in July, the British House of Commons adopted an address of condolence to the Emperor Francis Joseph, and Mr. Asquith, in a touchingly eloquent speech, spoke with most warm sympathy of that sorely-tried monarch, so venerable from his age and his sorrows. Little did anyone imagine early in July that the Serajevo crime would be the prelude to Armageddon. Austrian ministers sought to establish the official complicity of Serbia with the assassinations. There was no evidence of this, but Serbia, at the

advice of Russia, adopted a very conciliatory disposition, and consented to humiliating conditions. This was not enough for the statesmen of the Ballplatz. They were determined to seize the occasion for permanently crippling Serbia and impairing for all time Russian influence and prestige in the Balkan peninsula. A policy of this kind made war inevitable.

It should be noted that Austrian ambitions in the south conflict with those of Italy. Though Italy is one of the partners of the Triple Alliance, there is no love lost between Austrians and Italians. There is still a part of Italia Irredenta under Austrian dominion, including the great port of Trieste. Look at the map and see how the strategic interests of the two Powers are in conflict in the Adriatic. The Albanian port of Avlona, over against Brindisi, is the key to that sea. If either Power obtained possession of this port, she could immobilize the fleet of her rival. This conflict of Austrian and Italian ambitions is one of the factors that have induced the Italian government to maintain an attitude of neutrality in the present war. Apart from that, Italy's instinctive sympathies are with the free, liberal nations of England and France. Between her and Austria there cannot be and there is not any affinity.



## VII. ABOUT JAPAN AND THE PACIFIC

IN the story of the nations there is nothing more romantic or more wonderful than the renaissance of Japan and her swift rise from a position of humiliation into one of commanding greatness. Less than forty years ago Japan was regarded by Europeans and Americans with contemptuous indifference. These islands in the Far Eastern sea had an attraction for travellers; their inhabitants, with their strange manners and elusive mystery, had for the European who wandered into their midst a fascinating charm. But they were Orientals, with all the weakness of the Oriental character, and the Aryan Occidental secure in his self-esteem, looked down upon them with an amused contempt.

### WEST FOR EAST

Then suddenly in the Eighties a mysterious leaven began to work in Japan. Statesmen were sent over to Europe to study the methods of government with a view to re-shaping the constitution of Japan; soldiers were despatched to Germany to be instructed in the modern military art; sailors were sent to England to sit at the feet of the acknowledged

masters of naval warfare; merchants were sent to America and England to study the methods of modern industry and commerce. The lessons thus learnt were soon assimilated by the quick-witted, industrious, imitative Japanese. And so a new Japan was built up; and an Oriental race, which had lived a self-contained life in its island home for twenty-five centuries, rapidly transformed itself from a condition of primitive feudalism, into a progressive community with industries, schools, hospitals, a navy, and an army after the Western fashion. This amazing revolution was accomplished without any violent rupture with the past. The new was grafted on to the old, for the Japanese venerate their ancestors and glory in the history of their race. For all its successful adoption of modern ways, Japan remains in essence a theocracy.

Around the Mikado gathers not merely loyalty, but also a sentiment of the deepest religious devotion. To the Japanese, as one of their own writers has recently told us, the Mikado "is the Supreme Being in the cosmos of Japan." He is "the owner of the Empire"; the fountain

of all authority and honour ; supreme alike in the spiritual and in the temporal domain. Yet for all his theoretical absolutism the Mikado has ceased to be in practice an autocratic ruler. Japan has contrived to reconcile representative institutions with devoted Monarchism.

### THE EASTERN BRITISH

The Japanese have been called not inaptly the British of the Pacific. Theirs is an island home and they are thus peculiarly adapted for the sea. Nature, too, speaks to them much in the same way that she speaks to the British ;—" If you relax your efforts, destruction will overtake you ; but if you take pains your reward will be thousand-fold." Climate and environment are permanent influences in shaping the character and affecting the destinies of a people. Japan like Britain owes much to her insular position and her northern latitude.

It was the war with China in 1894 that revealed to the world that a new Power, armed, strong, self-reliant, had arisen in the Pacific. Japan's overwhelming triumph showed at once the strength of the conqueror and the weakness of the vanquished. China, it was evident, had lost the power of self-defence. It seemed as if the dissolution of the ancient Chinese Empire was near at hand. China with its immense territory, the variety and richness of its natural resources and its teeming population of over 400,000,000 souls offered a matchless field for

exploitation and development. The cupidity of the European Powers was aroused ; and in 1895, Russia, Germany and France took concerted action to deprive Japan of the fruits of her well-won victory. Great Britain had commercial interests at stake far exceeding those of any other Power. The volume of British trade with China is greater than that of all other nations combined. But Britain under the sage guidance of Lord Rosebery refused to take part in the policy of bullying and coercing Japan. This was not the first sign of British sympathy with Japan. The year before (1894) England frankly acknowledged Japan's rights of nationhood. Up to then Japan had been subject to irksome restrictions imposed by foreign Powers, whose treaty rights hampered seriously the judicial and fiscal autonomy of the Japanese nation. England took the lead in consenting to the sweeping away of all these restrictions, so wounding to the national sense of the Japanese, and welcomed Japan into the comity of nations.

### A LOST VICTORY

Though England stood aloof from the anti-Japanese European coalition, she was powerless to save Japan from the combined pressure of Russia, Germany and France. These Powers succeeded in wresting from Japan the fruits of her victory over China. By the Treaty of Shimonoseki at the close of the war, the Liao-tung peninsula was ceded to Japan. The three



Powers compelled her to restore the peninsula to China, on the ground that Japan's retention of it would endanger the peace of the Far East, for "a Power holding Port Arthur would inevitably overawe Peking, and have China at her mercy." How much sincerity lay in these protestations was seen a couple of years later (in 1897) by the action of Germany, which, taking advantage of the murder of two German missionaries in the province of Shantung, descended upon Kiao-Chau, a spacious bay fronting the Yellow Sea, and since then a German naval base. Inspired by the German example, Russia obtained from China a lease of Port Arthur and Talienwan. These events sank deep into the minds of the Japanese. They helped to draw her people closer to Great Britain. In proof of her friendliness, Japan in 1898 handed over to Great Britain Wei-hai-Wei, a Chinese port that had remained in her possession since the war.

### A WORKING ALLIANCE

On February 11th, 1902, the two nations entered into an alliance. In 1905 the alliance was renewed for ten years; but before the end of this term it was again revised and renewed (in July, 1911) by Sir Edward Grey until 1921. The Agreement pledges England and Japan to the "consolidation and maintenance of the general peace in the regions of Eastern Asia and of India; the preservation of the common interests of all Powers in China

by insuring the independence and the integrity of the Chinese Empire and the principle of equal opportunities for the commerce and industry of all nations in China"; common action between the two Powers when the interests of either are in jeopardy; finally, a stipulation that each Power will come to the assistance of its ally in the event of an unprovoked attack or aggressive action by any other Power or Powers.

After the Japanese victory over China in 1894 and his own subsequent co-operation in the policy of bullying Japan, the German Emperor distinguished himself by an allegorical drawing on the "Yellow Peril," which in 1895 he sent as a personal gift to the Tsar of Russia. In this drawing the archangel Michael is depicted standing on a cliff exhorting the nations of Europe (a group of female personages, with Germany, of course, in front) to a crusade against the "Yellow Peril," vaguely suggested in an obscure figure surrounded with smoke and flame. High in the background stands the Cross, from which refulgent beams are shining. The picture created a sensation at the time in Europe. It has not been forgotten by the Japanese any more than the seizure of Kiao-Chau.

### ADVANCE JAPAN!

Having safeguarded herself by the alliance with England against another hostile European combination, Japan steadily developed her naval and military strength. Thus, when the



war with Russia came in 1905 she was ready, efficient, untroubled. During that war, in which they were victorious on land and sea, the Japanese performed prodigies of valour. Peace came with the treaty of Portsmouth (U.S.A.) signed in August, 1905. This practically re-enacted the Shimonoseki Treaty of 1895 that had been ripped up by Russia, Germany and France. It was provided by the Treaty of Portsmouth that Manchuria should be evacuated by both armies; that Port Arthur and the Liao-tung peninsula should be ceded to Japan and that Japanese influence in Korea should be recognized as paramount. These terms secured the future of Japan. Five years later she annexed Korea, and thus effectively protected herself from a hostile land attack. The Japanese Empire has now an area of 245,000 square miles (in the place of 160,000 square miles before the war) and a population of 60,000,000 souls.

The Japanese victory over Russia was a sign to the whole world that a new and formidable Power had arisen in the Pacific. Our alliance with Japan ensured her predominance as a naval power in the Pacific, and it enabled us to concentrate without anxiety our main naval strength in the North Sea, the growth of the German Navy having compelled a new distribution of our naval forces in the seas of the world. Friendship with Japan meant to us that the coasts of Canada, Australia, New Zealand and India were safe from

attack, since no other naval power could reach them with modern ships of war. To Japan the British alliance has ensured undisturbed opportunity to develop her new territory on the mainland of Asia and peace to recuperate her strength after the heavy drain made upon her vitality by the war with Russia.

### THE "YELLOW PERIL"

The rise of Japanese naval power has, however, caused disquietude in America and Australia. In neither of these countries is there any love for the Japanese, though they excite less repulsion than the Chinese. It is not merely colour prejudice that is responsible for this state of opinion. There is a dread that the yellow man with his tireless industry and his simple wants will lower the standard of life. Hence the passionate aspiration to preserve "a white Australia"; and the intense resentment in California and British Columbia against Asiatic immigrants, whether they come from Japan, China or India. It might be thought that there would be differential treatment in favour of the Japanese, with their high standard of civilization. But the Japanese are feared for their very virtues and powers. And true it certainly is that the Japanese are not assimilated in any western community. They remain a people apart, a permanently foreign element, different in colour, appearance, language, ideas, beliefs, history, outlook. The Australian view on the whole subject of Asiatic

immigration was not long ago expressed as follows in the *Sydney Morning Herald*: "The Asiatics are representative of a civilization older than our own, and the centuries of heredity which this implies have evolved thoughts which are not our thoughts and ways which are not our ways. And hence we, as being in greater degree than any other western country under the shadow of Asia, have to choose between exclusion or extinction of our own type of civilization. And in this we have the justification of the 'White Australia doctrine.'"

The establishment of compulsory military service in Australia has sprung directly from the fear of an irruption of the yellow race. To reconcile these prejudices with the Anglo-Japanese Alliance will not be easy.

#### AMERICA ON THE ALERT

The possibility of Japanese domination of the Pacific had an instantaneous effect in stimulating American naval ambitions. Mr. Roosevelt, who was President of the United States at the time, threw himself with characteristic energy into the work of regenerating the American Navy. In 1908 the American battle-fleet took a voyage round

the world. In Australian ports it was received with rapturous enthusiasm. The voyage was in every respect a great success. It proved the title of the United States to be regarded as one of the great naval powers. Mr. Roosevelt, with whom the idea of the battle-fleet's voyage round the world originated, said he regarded it as essential that the world should realize that "the Pacific is as much our home waters as the Atlantic." The construction of the Panama Canal will strengthen American naval power in the Pacific.

Commercially the new waterway will have far-reaching results. It will bring Japan, North China, and Australia nearer to the Atlantic seaboard of the United States than they now are to England. Not less important will be its influence on sea-power. Japan has all the elements of naval power—an insular position, an extensive, indented coast-line, with many good harbours, excellent coal and a large fleet. But after the completion of the Panama Canal, the United States, with its enormous resources, will be able to assert its claim to naval predominance in the Pacific. England has a strong fleet and many coaling stations in the Pacific; but the mastery of that ocean necessarily lies between Japan and the United States.

## VIII. HOW ARMAGEDDON CAME

WHO can say exactly what the causes of any war have been? Historians cannot agree about the causes of the great wars of the past, though they have all the evidence to go to and are saved from prejudice by the distance of time. How then can we hope to give a fair and impartial account of this greatest of all wars? However much we may try, we cannot escape from our own prejudices and anxieties. We are too near to what is happening and too closely interested in the issue to take the detached view of the ideal historian. In the whole civilized world at this moment, it would probably be impossible to find anyone capable of taking in the function of the complete outsider. It would need an inhabitant of Mars to fulfil that function; and even our imaginary Martian would be handicapped by lack of evidence. Much that has gone to make this war is recorded only in the secret archives of the Foreign Offices.

### PROXIMATE AND ULTIMATE

Broadly, two sorts of causes go to make a war; a proximate cause, concerning which there is no doubt, and an ultimate cause or congeries of

causes, concerning which there is always uncertainty. Thus the war of 1870 arose out of the dispute over the Spanish succession; the South African war over the Outlanders' disabilities. But these were only the ostensible causes. In reality both these conflicts arose out of a gradual increase of enmity between two neighbouring nations—an enmity that sprang out of the very nature of things and the roots of which spread widely and deeply into the past.

Of the proximate cause of the world-war of 1914 there is no doubt; its ultimate causes will probably furnish matter of dispute among historians for a century to come. On June 28th last, the Grand-Duke Franz Ferdinand, heir to the Austrian Throne, and his wife were assassinated at Serajevo. To-day as a direct consequence of that crime, civilized men from the Atlantic even to the Pacific and the Mediterranean and to the Arctic Ocean, have sprung to arms; gigantic armies are at grips in Northern France and Eastern Prussia and Austria; cities have been reduced to ashes in Belgium; whole populations are in flight; terrible deeds are being committed



against humanity on the plea of military necessity. Yet it is certain that hardly one man out of the millions who are fighting remembers the assassination of June 28th, or if he does, cares a rap about it. Most of them may never have heard of it.

#### THE SMALL AND GREAT

Even the statesmen, we may imagine, have put it out of their minds. Not that it was not a dreadful crime, perhaps the most diabolical of the political assassinations that have stained the history of the last half-century. Yet in comparison with its tremendous consequences the crime of June 28th counts for almost nothing. Those consequences were not inherent in this comparatively trivial event, any more than an explosion is inherent in the spark that produces it. Our interest is not in the spark but in the explosive mixture, and Europe in the midsummer of this year was a veritable powder-magazine.

Events followed one another in mechanical sequence after June 28th. Austria prepared to punish Servia; Russia moved to Servia's support; Germany supported her ally Austria; France was under obligation to support her ally Russia; England was bound morally to back her friends and by treaty to defend Belgium. Thus nearly all Europe became involved, and it is almost inevitable that other countries that have remained neutral will eventually be drawn into the maelstrom. Plainly the misdeed of a Balkan conspirator

or of a small Balkan nation could not have caused such a world-commotion. What had happened was that Central Europe, *i.e.*, Germany and Austria, had come at last into collision with Eastern Europe, *i.e.*, Russia, with the Balkan Peninsula as the bone of contention, and Central Europe had decided to make the occasion a test of strength.

#### DARING PRUSSIA

Berlin and Vienna perhaps did not actually desire war. They did not fear it, however, and were ready to face all risks. Teutonic supremacy from the Baltic to the Dardanelles and even to the Persian Gulf must be secured, whatever the cost.

If, as Austria and Germany hoped and indeed expected, Russia dared not go to war, well and good. Russia would have been defeated without fighting. The Balkan Peninsula would be definitely under Austro-German tutelage. Austrian access to the *Ægean* and a German Protectorate in Asia Minor would have been the next stages. Should Russia, contrary to expectation, resort to arms, the feeling at Berlin and Vienna was: Better now than later. Russia was engaged in reorganizing her army. Next year or the year after her peace strength would exceed even a two-Power standard. France, no doubt in response to Russian pressure, had adopted the Three Year Law. Next year the effect of that law would really begin to be felt. The Germanic Powers would then be hopelessly

outmatched. As a result of the Balkan war, Servia, which has been Russia's vassal and agent, had doubled in size and from the military standpoint was already quite formidable. The Teuton and the Slav were at length face to face and the issue had better be decided now, while the Teuton had a good fighting chance. In short, this is an instance of that most cynical of all kinds of war—the preventive war. The responsibility for precipitating it lies upon Berlin; for Vienna is but a branch department of the German militarist and bureaucratic headquarters.

The preventive war is a typically Prussian device. We may add that the Serajevo assassinations were perhaps regarded as a Heaven-sent opportunity for putting it once more into practice. In these days it is impossible to prevent a European war from spreading. Apart from the double network of alliances and ententes that bind the Powers together, Europe is essentially a system of States based upon a nicely equilibrium of forces. War necessarily destroys that equilibrium and thereby endangers the security of every State without exception. A conflict between any members of the European system necessarily affects all the others. Such were the root causes of the European Armageddon.

#### GERMANY'S INNER MIND

What is the evidence that Germany was seeking war, or if she was not actively seeking war, was at least not

averse from it? In the first place she had it in her power, as every one will admit, to impose restraint upon Austria. She did not make any serious effort to exercise that power. On the contrary she put a veto on all the attempts that were made to find some solution. After the murder of the Archduke Franz Ferdinand, Austria had universal sympathy, at all events in Western Europe. The crime was of a peculiarly shocking character. There was little need to inculcate Servia. Every one knew of the Pan-Servian agitation. Serajevo, where the murder took place, is the capital of Servia Irredenta. Every one suspected too that, directly or indirectly, Russia was guilty in some degree of complicity. Ever since the Balkan wars the Russian Jingo papers had been talking quite frankly about the partition of Austria-Hungary; the "sick woman of Europe" was their synonym for her, just as Turkey used to be called "the sick man." Moreover, the Russian Minister at Belgrade, M. Hartwig, was a notorious mischief-maker and intriguer of the worst type. Had we not had our own experience of him while he was Russian Minister at Teheran? Austria need not have had any difficulty in securing satisfaction from Servia and even guarantees for future good behaviour. Yet there was an element of danger. After all Servia had been for 11 years Russia's close protégé; one might almost say, ally, if alliance were possible between so big a State and one so small. Stiff



demands upon Servia were certain to arouse Russian apprehensions, but these might be overcome. Sir Edward Grey's first anxiety therefore was that Austria should not attach a time-limit to her demands; in other words, that an ultimatum should not be presented. When, however, the Austrian demands came to be presented, they were in the form not merely of an ultimatum, but of a death-warrant for Servia's independence.

Sir Edward Grey expostulated with the Austro-Hungarian Ambassador regarding the Note to Servia.

#### DRAGOONING SERVIA

While declaring that sympathy existed with Austria, he added that he "had never before seen one State address to another independent State a document of so formidable a character." He drew particular attention to Clause 5 of the Austrian Note, which "would hardly be consistent with the maintenance of Servia's independent sovereignty, if it were to mean, as it seemed to me that it might, that Austro-Hungary was to be invested with the right to appoint officials who would have authority within the frontiers of Servia." Apart from the extraordinary character of the Note itself, there is plenty of evidence that Austria intended to take the fullest political advantage of the opportunity that the murder of the Heir-Apparent had given her. Our Ambassador in Vienna at once expressed his opinion that "The sur-

render of Servia is neither expected nor really desired." Even the German Foreign Secretary admitted privately to our Ambassador in Berlin that "the Austrian Note left very much to be desired as a diplomatic document."

#### THE SLAV VIEW

Russia, being peculiarly interested in Servia, could take only one view. It was thus expressed by M. Sazonoff, the Russian Foreign Minister: "Servia," he said, "was ready to punish those proved guilty, but no independent State could be expected to accept the political demands put forward." He added that "Austria's action was really directed against Russia," but "Russia could not allow Austria to crush Servia and become the predominant Power in the Balkans." To prevent that, Russia would "face all the risks of war."

There was still a hope. Sir Edward Grey took it, and to their credit so did the Russian Government. Our Foreign Secretary, whose labours and ingenuity on behalf of peace during this critical period cannot be sufficiently praised, at once brought pressure to bear on Servia. At least, he urged, no negative reply should be given to the Austrian Note. At the same time he suggested that Great Britain, France, Germany and Italy, the four Powers with no direct interests in the dispute, should act together for the sake of peace. M. Sazonoff declared that Russia was in favour of Servia's appealing to the



Powers, and if Serbia should so appeal, "Russia would be quite ready to stand aside and leave the question in the hands of England, France, Germany and Italy." There is little doubt that all the weight of Russian influence was brought to bear upon the Belgrade Government.

### REJECTED HUMILITY

Servia's reply would have averted war if there had been a genuine disposition to avert war in Vienna and Berlin. It accepted all the Austrian demands but two. The acceptance of these latter would have meant the surrender of Servia's national independence. If Austria did not consider Servian guarantees of any value, the Belgrade Government offered to refer the dispute to the Powers or to the Hague tribunal. This reply to the Austrian demands, Sir Edward Grey declared, "involved the greatest humiliation to Servia that I had ever seen a nation undergo." He immediately appealed to Berlin to urge moderation in Vienna. "The Servian reply," he telegraphed, "should at least be treated as a basis for discussion and peace." His appeals were in vain. To quote our Foreign Secretary again, "the Servian reply was treated by the Austro-Hungarian Government as if it were as unsatisfactory as a blank negative."

So far from trying to avoid the catastrophe, Germany did nothing but block every suggestion that was made. There must be no interference

between Servia and the castigation that was about to be administered to that State. "The question at issue," Germany declared, "was one for settlement between Servia and Austria alone. Sir Edward Grey's plan for a conference of the less interested Powers—Great Britain, France, Italy and Germany—was rejected outright. "Germany," said Herr von Jagow, "could not fall in with the suggestion." Then, and afterwards, Sir Edward Grey appealed to the German Government to make a suggestion themselves. That appeal was ignored, though it was reiterated and pressed with passionate intensity. He declared that Europe could accept any method that Germany thought possible if only Germany would "press the button" in the interests of peace. The button was never pressed. Germany did not move a finger towards it. Yet the slightest signal from her would have been obeyed in Vienna.

### SEEKING A SOLUTION

Russia, without surrendering the main point that Servia's independent sovereignty should be left intact, was sincerely anxious for a solution. M. Sazonoff was as active for peace as Sir Edward Grey. "No suggestion held out to him had been refused. He had accepted the proposal for a conference of Four, for mediation by Great Britain and Italy, for direct conversation between Austria and Russia; but Germany and Austria-Hungary had either rendered these attempts for peace ineffective

by evasive replies or had refused them altogether." M. Sazonoff initiated direct negotiations with Vienna with high hopes of success. Austria made a show of entering into negotiations and yet, when it came to the point and she was asked to invest her Ambassador in St. Petersburg with full powers to arrange a settlement, she bluntly refused to do so. Plainly, no desire for a settlement was in her mind. In his despair, the Russian Foreign Secretary complained to Sir Edward Grey that "the Berlin Cabinet appear to be exerting no influence on their ally."

We need not suppose that responsible statesmen in Berlin and Vienna were actually inviting a European war, whatever the military caste may have intended. But the Serajevo crime was too rare an opportunity for re-asserting Austro-German predominance in the Balkans to be missed. Russia would protest and threaten, but would not fight. In conversation with our Ambassador in Vienna, the German Ambassador in that capital (a notorious Russophobe by the way, and Europe's evil genius at this time) put the case quite bluntly. "Russia will keep quiet," he said confidently. "France, too, was not at all in a condition for facing a war." Then he added, "as for Germany, she knew very well what she was about in backing up Austria-Hungary in this matter."

#### AS IN A MIRROR

[That this was an accurate reflection

of the state of mind at the Wilhelmstrasse is beyond question. Its stupidity was on a par with the belief that persisted in Berlin (despite several warnings from Sir Edward Grey) to the last moment, that Great Britain would remain aloof in the event of a general conflagration. Some have supposed that, if he had realised the situation, the Imperial Chancellor would eventually have abandoned this belief in Russia's merely bluffing. We have reason to suppose that he sincerely did not desire war. But he had carried his dangerous tactics too far. Mobilisation began throughout Europe; the military machine took control of the State; and war became inevitable. Competent observers, who were in Berlin just before the outbreak of war, found the Foreign Office there in a state of hopeless confusion and helplessness. Affairs had passed out of its hands. Ministers were nobodies; the Generals were now in the seats of the mighty.

#### WHY ENGLAND WENT TO WAR

We next come to England's participation in this tremendous conflict. It cannot be too clearly understood that this country is not fighting on behalf of Servia. Nor is Russia's quarrel with Austria our quarrel. One of Great Britain's first acts at the outset of the crisis was to warn Russia through our Ambassador in St. Petersburg that "direct British interests in Servia were nil, and a war on behalf of that country would never be sanctioned by British public

opinion." We are not fighting in the cause of the Slav against the Teuton, nor for Russian domination in the Balkans. Our first interest in the world is peace, and next to that is our interest in the maintenance of the *status quo* in Europe; the "balance of power" as the diplomatists say in their queer jargon. The "balance of power" may seem to the ordinary man a mere abstraction; a sort of algebraic equation; something as much worth fighting for as the Rule of Three or the Pons Asinorum. Yet in this convenient, but rather repellant phrase, is embodied all that England is or stands for in the world—our liberties, our existence, and our future.

#### WHICH METHOD?

The alternative to the "Balance of Power" is a dictatorship of Europe. Napoleon aimed at such a dictatorship. Should Germany crush France and defeat Russia, he would be such a dictator. In that event we should be the next victim. These islands and our Empire would be in extreme danger.

The next factor that compelled us to intervene was our obligation to protect Belgium. It was an obligation both of honour and of self-interest. No better statement, however, could be made of the British case in this war than that made by Sir Edward Grey in the House of Commons on August 3rd. He said, "I ask the House from the point of view of British interests, to consider what may be

at stake. If France is beaten in a struggle of life and death, beaten to her knees, loses her position as a great Power, becomes subordinate to the will and power of one greater than herself—consequences which I do not anticipate, because I am sure that France has the power to defend herself with all the energy and ability and patriotism which she has shown so often—still, if that were to happen, and if Belgium fell under the same dominating influence, and then Holland and then Denmark, then would there not be a common interest against the unmeasured aggrandisement of any Power?

"It may be said, I suppose," he added, "that we might stand aside, husband our strength, and that, whatever happened in the course of this war, at the end of it intervene with effect to put things right and to adjust them to our own point of view. If, in a crisis like this, we ran away from those obligations of honour and interest as regards the Belgian Treaty, I doubt whether, whatever material force we might have at the end, it would be of very much value in face of the respect that we should have lost. At the end of this war, whether we have stood aside or whether we have been engaged in it, I do not believe for a moment—even if we had stood aside and remained aside—that we should be in a position, a material position, to use our force decisively to undo what had happened in the course of the war, to prevent the whole of the west of Europe



opposite to us, if that had been the result of the war, falling under the domination of a single Power, and I am quite sure that our moral position would be such——" (The rest of the sentence was lost, says *The Times* report, in a loud outburst of cheering.)

#### A HISTORIC PAPER

One of the most dramatic documents ever issued by the Government is "White Paper, Miscellaneous, No. 8." In it Sir E. Goschen, our Ambassador, describes his last day in Berlin, his last interview with the Imperial Chancellor and the delivery of the British Ultimatum. That ultimatum was presented by the Ambassador at the Berlin Foreign Office on the afternoon of August 4th. It demanded an assurance that Belgian neutrality would be respected.

Unless the assurance was given by midnight, the Ambassador would ask for his passports and inform the Imperial Government "that his Majesty's Government would have to take all steps in their power to uphold the neutrality of Belgium and the observance of a treaty to which Germany was as much a party as themselves."

To this demand the German answer was a plain "No." The German Foreign Secretary pointed out to the Ambassador why Germany was about to commit this wrong upon Belgium. "They had to advance into France by the quickest and easiest way, so as to get well ahead with their operations and endeavour to strike some

decisive blow as early as possible. It was a matter of life and death for them, as, if they had gone by the more southern route, they could not have hoped, in view of the paucity of roads and the strength of the fortresses, to have got through without formidable opposition and entailing great loss of time. This loss of time would have meant time gained by the Russians for bringing up their troops to the German frontier. Rapidity of action was the greatest German asset, while that of Russia was an inexhaustible supply of troops."

#### LIFE AND DEATH

That strategical reasons of the utmost urgency, amounting, in fact, to "a matter of life and death" for Germany, led to this breach of a solemn treaty and the violation of an innocent neighbour's soil—not hostility towards Belgium nor territorial greed—every candid person may admit. Military strategy may explain Germany's action. But it does not justify it. What is amazing is that Germany really expected Belgium not to resist, and Great Britain to acquiesce. The German Chancellor thought that if Belgium were assured of compensation after the war and a new guarantee of her independence and integrity, that ought to be sufficient. Apparently it never entered his head that if Belgium agreed to his proposal, she would automatically cease to be independent and neutral; that she would be committing an inimical act towards France, and would therefore

stand to lose if France won; that if Germany should win, she would in fact have shown herself to be a mere vassal of Germany's, and a vassal she would remain, whatever new pledges and guarantees were given. Not seeing this, the Chancellor, perhaps, might not see its corollary: That England was bound morally and by self-interest to spring to Belgium's side; morally because England's word was given to defend Belgium, and upon England's keeping her word depends the prestige and safety of her Empire; by self-interest because a Belgium in vassaldom to Germany would be a danger to our island security; that a nation which gave free passage to a German army from Liège to the French frontier, might be quite as willing to grant a similar passage to Ostend and Seelruege, ports only a few hours distant from our own coast.

#### BELOW THE BELT

There was still another aspect of Germany's violation of Belgian neutrality which affected Great Britain. Here again the German Government showed a strange lack of understanding. To strike at France through Belgium was like hitting below the belt. France was not prepared for such a foul blow, though some might say that she ought to have been, for it had been announced long enough beforehand. She had few fortresses along the Belgian frontier, none of them of the first class; her system of mobilisation and concen-

tration does not seem to have provided for this contingency. For Germany the route through Belgium was a perfectly straight and easy road to Paris. In short, France stood to be crushed and Great Britain could not allow France to be crushed, especially by a foul blow, which it was definitely our duty, as Belgium's guardian, to ward off. Moreover, a defeated and weakened France would mean a German dictatorship of Europe. In our own interest we cannot allow any European Power to gain a position of predominance, least of all Germany, which is the only Power that for a century has definitely challenged our Empire of the sea. Upon the maintenance of this "Balance of Power" in Europe the safety of our island kingdom and scattered Empire depends, and has always depended. It is the traditional key to the otherwise unintelligible workings of British diplomacy and statecraft. It is, as it were, our tacit Munroe Doctrine.

After delivering the ultimatum at the Wilhelmstrasse the Ambassador proceeded on this same afternoon to call upon the Imperial Chancellor, Herr von Bethmaan-Hollweg. It was a remarkable interview. To appreciate it fully, we should remember that the Imperial Chancellor had been working throughout his term of office for an *entente* with England; and he had nearly brought it about; that a treaty was just on the point of signature settling in advance all possible matters of dispute between the two countries at every point in Asia and Africa



where they come into contact. All this edifice of good-will had now been brought to the ground.

### THE BITTERNESS OF IT

Our Ambassador writes :

"I found the Chancellor very agitated. His Excellency at once began a harangue, which lasted for about twenty minutes. He said that the step taken by His Majesty's Government was terrible to a degree; just for a word—'neutrality,' a word which in war-time had so often been disregarded—just for a scrap of paper Great Britain was going to make war on a kindred nation who desired nothing better than to be friends with her. All his efforts in that direction had been rendered useless by this last terrible step, and the policy, to which, as I know, he had devoted himself since his accession to office, had tumbled down like a house of cards. What we had done was unthinkable; it was like striking a man from behind while he was fighting for his life against two assailants. He held Great Britain responsible for all the terrible events that might happen.

"I protested strongly against that statement, and said that, in the same way as he and Herr von Jagow wished me to understand that for strategical reasons it was a matter of life and death to Germany to advance through Belgium and violate the latter's neutrality, so I would wish him to understand that it was, so to speak, a matter of 'life and death' for the

honour of Great Britain that she should keep her solemn engagement to do her utmost to defend Belgium's neutrality if attacked. That solemn compact simply had to be kept, or what confidence could anyone have in engagements given by Great Britain in the future? The Chancellor said, 'But at what price will that compact have been kept? Has the British Government thought of that?' I hinted to his Excellency as plainly as I could that fear of consequences could hardly be regarded as an excuse for breaking solemn engagements, but his Excellency was so excited, so evidently overcome by the news of our action, and so little disposed to hear reason that I refrained from adding fuel to the flame by further argument. As I was leaving he said that the blow of Great Britain joining Germany's enemies was all the greater that almost up to the last moment he and his Government had been working with us and supporting our efforts to maintain peace between Austria and Russia. I said that this was part of the tragedy which saw the two nations fall apart just at the moment when the relations between them had been more friendly and cordial than they had been for years. Unfortunately, notwithstanding our efforts to maintain peace between Russia and Austria, the war had spread and had brought us face to face with a situation which, if we held to our engagements, we could not possibly avoid, and which unfortunately entailed our separation from our late fellow-workers. He would



readily understand that no one regretted this more than I."

#### TALKING IT OVER

After this painful interview Sir E. Goschen returned to the Embassy. He was visited later in the evening by Herr von Zimmermann, who, after expressions of personal friendliness, asked casually whether a demand for passports was equivalent to a declaration of war. Sir E. Goschen replied "that such an authority on international law as he was known to be, must know as well or better than he what was usual in such cases." I added, he says, "that there were many cases where diplomatic relations had been broken off and, nevertheless, war had not ensued; but that in this case he would have seen from my instructions, of which I had given Herr von Jagow a written summary, that His Majesty's Government expected an answer to a definite question by 12 o'clock that night, and that in default of a satisfactory answer they would be forced to take such steps as their engagements required." Herr Zimmermann said that was, in fact, a declaration of war, as the Imperial Government could not possibly give the assurance required either that night or any other night.

The news got out in Berlin the same evening. It was as great a shock to the public as to the Imperial Chancellor. The *Berliner Tageblatt* issued a flying sheet stating that Great Britain had declared war against

Germany. An angry crowd gathered before the Embassy, and overpowered the small force of police on guard there. Stones were thrown through the Embassy windows. At this point Sir E. Goschen telephoned to the Foreign Office; an adequate force of mounted police was sent immediately, and very soon cleared the street. From then on, the Legation was well guarded, and no more direct unpleasantness occurred.

#### COURTEOUS AND CHIVALROUS

It is an agreeable surprise in this attack on the Embassy to read of the friendly and chivalrous attitude towards the Embassy maintained to the last by the Foreign Secretary, Herr von Jagow. On the night of the disturbance he visited the Ambassador personally to express his regret for what had occurred. The behaviour of his countrymen had made him feel more ashamed than he had words to express. It was an indelible stain on the reputation of Berlin. The flying sheet circulated in the streets had not been authorized by the Government; in fact the Chancellor had asked him by telephone whether he thought such a statement should be issued, and he had replied: "Certainly not, until the morning." It was in consequence of this discussion that only a small force of police had been sent to the Embassy, lest the presence of a large force should attract attention, and perhaps lead to disturbances. It was the "pestilential *Tageblatt*" which had

somehow got hold of the news, and had upset his calculations. He feared that the Ambassador would take home with him a sorry impression of Berlin manners in moments of excitement. In fact, as Sir E. Goschen observes, no apology could have been more full and complete.

Herr von Jagow followed up his courtesy by providing with the greatest care for the safe and comfortable departure of the Embassy to the Dutch frontier. Two nights had to be spent in Berlin, but there were no more scenes. On the morning of August 6th a ruse was adopted to get the Legation away without popular demonstration. The ordinary route to the station was ostentatiously guarded to draw public attention, while the Embassy was smuggled round in taxicabs by side streets. The party were not molested in any way, and were seen off at the station by a representative of Herr von Jagow. A retired Colonel of Guards accompanied the train to the Dutch frontier, and took great pains to prevent any demonstrations from the great crowds which thronged the platforms at every station where the train stopped. There were occasional jeers and insulting gestures, but the journey passed without any viciously unpleasant incident.

#### PERSONAL AND PARTICULAR

In contrast to the courtesy of the Foreign Office, however, there had occurred one very dramatic incident before the Embassy left Berlin. On

August 5th, the morning after the breaking of the windows by the mob, an aide-de-camp called on the Ambassador with a personal message from the Emperor :

"The Emperor has charged me," he said, "to express to your Excellency his regret for the occurrences of last night, but to tell you at the same time that you will gather from those occurrences an idea of the feelings of his people respecting the action of Great Britain in joining with other nations against her old allies of Waterloo. His Majesty also begs that you will tell the King that he has been proud of the titles of British Field-Marshal and British Admiral, but that in consequence of what has occurred he must now at once divest himself of those titles."

Sir E. Goschen adds that this message "lost none of its acerbity by the manner of its delivery," but beside it there may be set another document written and signed since the war broke out, a document which creates a new Holy Alliance, namely, the compact between England, France and Russia, with Japan later agreeing, not to make peace separately but only jointly. Its terms are :

#### DECLARATION

"The undersigned, duly authorised thereto by their respective Governments, hereby declare as follows :—

"The British, French and Russian Governments mutually agree not to conclude peace

separately during the present war.

"The three Governments agree that when terms of peace come to be discussed no one of the Allies will demand conditions of peace without previous agreement of each of the other Allies.

"In faith whereof the undersigned have signed this declaration, and have affixed thereto their seals. Done at London this fifth day of September, 1914.

"E. GREY (His Britannic Majesty's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs).

"PAUL CAMBON (Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the French Republic).

"BENCKENDORFF (Ambassador and Plenipotentiary of his Majesty the Emperor of Russia)."



## IX. THE DEEPER ISSUES

"England, in this great fight to which you  
go  
Because, where Honour calls you, go you  
must,  
Be glad, whatever comes, at least to  
know  
You have your quarrel just."

—Owen Seaman.

"We are fighting for the dignity of humanity. We are fighting for the right of civilization to continue to exist. We are fighting so that nations may continue to live in Europe without being under the heel of another nation. It is a great cause: it is worth great sacrifices."—*Georges Clemenceau.*

WHAT, when you brush aside the suave things of diplomacy and close your ears, if you can, to the cannon's roar, are the great issues behind this terrible war? They are moral issues, and that, perhaps, is why the British-speaking people, when they fully realised those issues, stood to their defence as one man and one woman.

The war, as your knowledge of history will tell you, is the first supremely great war in which we have been an absolutely solid people. Generally there have been a minority, and sometimes, perhaps, that minority has been right; anyhow, the war has been discussable. Now there is no discussion, only a stout, unboasting,

wholly convinced determination to see the struggle through, alike for our own concern in it and for its greater importance to the world at large.

### THE TRUE RING

Our statesmen, in speeches ringing with the inspiring quality of the language Shakespeare spake, have put the higher side of the war to the people in singularly clear terms. Sir Edward Grey, in his first war speech in the House of Commons, suggested a vivid picture of France beaten to her knees, of Belgium erased from the map, and other little nations, like Holland and Denmark, swallowed up or changed out of resemblance. He did not at all anticipate such happenings, but if they were conceivable, how would we stand and what would be the plight of all the little nations—the little nations which have kept their lights burning, their souls aglow, partly because they were not weighed down with the armaments of some of the big nations. Our word was plighted to defend the neutrality of Belgium; were we to go back on that? Never, responded the country, even before the question could be put.



THE WESTERN AND EASTERN THEATRES OF THE WAR.





## RIGHT AND WRONG

"It was only," said the Prime Minister, "when we were confronted with the choice between keeping and breaking solemn obligations, between the discharge of a binding trust and of shameless subservience to naked force, that we threw away the scabbard. We do not repent our decision. The issue was one which no great and self-respecting nation, certainly none bred and nurtured as ourselves in this ancient home of liberty, could without undying shame have declined. We were bound by our obligations, plain and paramount, to assert and maintain the threatened independence of a small and neutral State. Belgium had no interest of her own to serve, save and except the one supreme and over-riding interest of every State, great or little, which is worthy of the name—the preservation of her integrity and of her national life.

"History tells us that the duty of asserting and maintaining the great principle, which is, after all, the well-spring of civilisation and of progress, has fallen once and again at the most critical moment in the past to States relatively small in area and in population, but great in courage and resolve, to Athens and Sparta, the Swiss cantons, and not least gloriously three centuries ago to the Netherlands. Never, I venture to assert, has the duty been more clearly and bravely acknowledged, and never has it been more strenuously and heroically discharged than during the last weeks by

the Belgian King and the Belgian people."

## THE "MAILED FIST"

You will remember, when Belgium point-blank refused to let Germany march through her territory, that the Kaiser himself addressed a menacing message to King Albert. It was, in effect, that the destiny of Germany needed this outlet through Belgium, and that mere pledged words or treaties should not for a moment stand in the way. The independence of small States and the sanctity of international covenants—where did these come in when Germany put on her "shining armour" and proceeded to march through rapine and slaughter to her "place in the sun?" It is the Belgian resistance to that march, not the march—a huge war Frankenstein let loose on civilisation—that will live as the imperishable history of this war.

Yes, influences far greater than Austria's brutal ultimatum to little Serbia were at work, almost unveiled, before the Germans invaded Belgium. One need not inquire, if only because as yet one cannot know, all about the under-currents at work, but at least we have seen enough of the influences operating to have a pretty good idea of them. "We worked for peace up to the last moment and beyond the last moment," said Sir Edward Grey. But peace came not. The rustle of danger grew into the clamour of preparation, and then the sword was drawn and the scabbard thrown

away. Even then we had a clean conscience, we sought nothing for ourselves, we stood for the higher civilisation against brute force.

#### CONSIDERED WORDS

"It is a war," Sir William Robertson Nicoll has said in an eloquent appeal to Nonconformists, "that was none of our seeking. We strove for peace to the last minute, if not the last second, of the last hour, and we strove in vain. The contention was forced upon us.

"We went into this war because it involved the keeping of the most solemn and sacred obligations. We were bound by treaty. We went forth in the cause of the smaller nations and especially in the cause of Belgium, which has kept troth with us so bravely.

"We entered the war because, as increasingly appears, it was a war against barbarism of the most evil and remorseless kind—a war for freedom, civilisation, and Christianity. Christian law has been treated by our opponents as of less than no account, and their code of conduct is infinitely baser than that of savages.

"We are now fighting for our very life as a nation. If we are subjugated by Germany we have no higher future before us than the life of a tributary province harassed and humiliated at every point—a life so intolerable that death is infinitely preferred.

"In particular this is a war for the people. They have seen it. They perceive that the very existence of

democracy as it has flourished in this country is threatened with a death-wound. If we could imagine the war-lords flushed with so stupendous a triumph as a prostrate Europe at their feet, no one would fail to see that the essential elements of honourable, happy, self-respecting life would be at an end.

"We are fighting for our children as our fathers fought for us. When this is over and peace arrives, the world will enter on a day bright with promise for those who are to follow us."

#### THE MATERIAL THINGS

If, when Germany went to war, she was not seeking her soul—there has been no sort of evidence of that—what was she seeking materially? Perhaps you will find a clue to her material ambitions if you just take up a map of Northern Europe, and look at it.

"The map," wrote Mr. Sydney Brooks in the *Daily Chronicle*, "shows the whole position more clearly than any words. There is Germany such as we know her to be—a patient, virile, strongly organised nation, filled with the consciousness of being on the crest of the rising wave, hungering for an empire overseas, but aware that no empire can be founded nowadays in the old, easy, effortless fashion, cut off from the full freedom of the Baltic and the North Sea, from the Mediterranean and the Adriatic, and with the short and difficult coast-line between Holland and Denmark forming almost the



wholly effective channel for her expanding commerce.

"And the nations that in this way cramp Germany's development are in all cases weaker than herself. She is walled off by puny, insignificant States from everything she most vitally needs for the protection of her security, and the full utilization of her strength. Ports, territory, opportunities—boundaries, remember, that are artificial, not permanent, drawn by diplomatists, not by nature—and their occupation would provide for generations an adequate outlet for her surplus population, her maritime ambitions, and her industrial enterprise, an outlet more than ever desirable now that Germany, with her rapidly growing numbers and a consequent increase of the social pressure, has changed from a mainly agricultural to a mainly industrial State.

"Therefore for three decades at least, Holland, Belgium, and Denmark have been the objects of the Pan-German propaganda. The Dutch have been plainly told that it is an insufferable monstrosity that the mouth of the Rhine, the German Tiber, should be in the hands of strangers, and that a small coast people should set astride of Germany's busiest river. They have been warned that Germany must advance to her 'natural' confines, and that while Holland remains detached, Germany is in the position of a man who is denied a key to his own front door."

### AN INTOXICATING GOSPEL

Now the cult of German expansion, though every little nation and every moral law in the world should fall before it, has not merely been preached by the "mailed fist" of the Kaiser and his uniformed captains, but by the thinkers and philosophers of Germany. It has got into their blood, and their heads, has become a wine of life or death with them. You might, putting it on the highest ground from their own standpoint, say they so believed in Germany that they thought she and her gospel of efficiency by sheer force should be exalted over the world, and even imposed upon it. But the whole world's view of this is necessarily different, and it is this whole world's view which led Mr. Robert Bridges, the Poet Laureate, to speak, in a notable letter to *The Times*, of the war as a "holy war," declared between Christ and the Devil.

"The conduct of the German conscripts," he wrote, "has demonstrated that they have been instructed to adopt in full practice the theories of their political philosophers, and that they have heartily consented to do this and freely commit every cruelty that they think will terrorize the people whom they intend to crush.

"Their philosophers, as I read them, teach openly that the law of love is silly and useless, but that brutal force and cruelty are the useful and proper means of attaining success



in all things. Shortly, you are not to do to others as you wish they should do to you, but you should do exactly what you wish they should not do to you; that is, you should cut their throats and seize their property, and then you will get on.

"As for these enlightened philosophers, their doctrines are plainly an apostasy from the Gospel—and this they do not scruple to avow; and their tenets are only a recrudescence or reassertion of the barbarism which we hoped we had grown out of: it is all merely damnable. But it seems to me that, judged only as utilitarian policy, it is stupid; and that they blundered in neglecting the moral force (for that is also a force) of the antagonism that they were bound to arouse in all gentle minds, whether simple or cultured. It was stupid of them not to perceive that their hellish principles would shock everything that is most beloved and living in modern thought, both the 'humanitarian' tendency of the time and the respect which has grown up for the rights of minorities and nationalities. Now, not to reckon with such things was stupid, unless they can win temporary justification by immediate success.

"What success is possible for those who thus openly outrage humanity remains to be seen; but they cannot be allowed the advantage of any doubt as to what they are about. Those who fight for them will fight for 'the devil and all his works'; and those who fight against them will

be fighting in the holy cause of humanity and the law of love. If the advocacy of their bad principles and their diabolical conduct do not set the whole world against them, then the world is worse than I think. My belief is that there are yet millions of their own countrymen who have not bowed the knee to Satan, and who will be as much shocked as we are; and that this internal moral disruption will much hamper them."

#### SACKCLOTH AND ASHES

We have said sometimes in our thoughtlessness that eloquence is a thing of the past, but surely the high history of these times has been well expressed in the speeches of our public men. What would our position have been if we had stayed out of the conflict?

"We should," said Mr. Asquith finely at the Guildhall, "have been watching as detached spectators the siege of Liège, the steady and manful resistance of a small Army, the occupation of the capital, with its splendid traditions and memories, the gradual forcing back of the patriotic defenders of their native land to the ramparts of Antwerp, countless outrages suffered by, and bucaneeering levies extracted from, the unoffending civil population, and finally the greatest crime committed against civilisation and culture since the Thirty Years' War—the sack of Louvain; with its buildings, its pictures, its unique library, its unrivalled associations, a shameless

holocaust of irreparable treasures lit up by blind barbarian vengeance. What account should we, the Government and the people of this country, have been able to render to the tribunal of our national conscience and sense of honour if, in defiance of our pledged and solemn obligations, we had not done our best to prevent, yes, and to avenge, these intolerable wrongs? For my part, I say that sooner than be a silent witness, which means in effect a willing accomplice of this tragic triumph of force over law and of brutality over freedom, I would see this country of ours blotted out of the page of history."

#### CROMWELL'S MAXIM

The Leader of the Conservative Party in the House of Commons, Mr. Bonar Law, also struck the deep note in our cause when he quoted Cromwell's saying to his Ironsides: "We know what we are fighting for, and we love what we know." "We are," Mr. Bonar Law went on, "fighting for our national existence, for everything which nations have always held most dear. But we are fighting for something more. We are fighting for the moral forces of humanity. We are fighting for the respect for public law and for the right of public justice, which are the foundations of civilisation. We are fighting for right against might. I do not attempt what Burke has declared to be impossible—to draw an indictment against a whole people; but this I say, that the German nation has

allowed itself to be organised as a military machine which recognises no law except the law of force, which knows no right except the right of the strongest. It is against that we are fighting to-day."

"We are," declared Mr. Arthur Balfour, "called to a task as great and noble and as intimately connected with the progress, prosperity, and the morality of mankind as any nation ever was in the whole long history of human effort." There he was expressing the firm thoughts which uphold us as a nation in this great war. There also he was placing his finger on the larger issues of the war. It is to do or to die; to see the world, beautiful after long centuries of fine effort, go reeling down before the greatest military machine ever forged, or to enable it to defy the worst shocks of that machine, and bring out of the welter a newer, fairer world, from which war will for ever be gone. It is that resolve, imperishable even in death, which Mr. Henry Newbolt expresses in his verses:

"Draw near together; none be last or first;  
We are no longer names, but one desire;  
With the same burning of the soul we thirst,  
And the same wine to-night shall quench our fire.

Drink! to our fathers who begot us men,  
To the dead voices that are never dumb;  
Then to the land of all our loves, and then  
To the long parting, and the age to come."



## X. BELGIUM AS A "COCKPIT"

No country in Europe has been the scene of more fighting than Belgium, from the battle of Cassel (1071) downwards. As soon as France and Germany came to separate themselves out after the break-up of the Emperor Otto's attempt to consolidate West Europe, the Low Countries began to be fought over as a debatable land. At the same time the pioneer manufactures and commerce of the Flemings (they were Flemish ships that carried William the Conqueror to England, and Flemish traders were the first to deal oversea, not in articles of luxury, like spices, jewels, silks, precious metals, amber or ivory, but in articles of common use, like cloth and leather) made Belgium a rich appanage which foreign rulers coveted for its revenues' sake. All the Belgian wars may be said to have had one or both of these motives—either the acquisition of the country for strategical purposes or its permanent annexation as a rich property. The present German attack has been inspired by both. Primarily it was the Kaiser's General Staff, which needed the Belgian plain as a military avenue to France; but the British White paper makes it clear, that the

desire to bring this rich country under permanent German control was also present and operative.

### A PEOPLE OF QUALITY

For many centuries the Belgian people were not idle spectators of the wars fought among them and about them. The two races of which they were composed, the Flemish and Walloons, municipally self-governed and massed in the first great industrial cities of North Europe, were both of an obstinate, insubordinate and highly intelligent type. Their Burgundian, Spanish, and Austrian rulers in succession recruited some of their best troops from among them. Belgian chivalry was foremost in the Crusades; a Belgian Count was the first Christian King of Jerusalem; Belgian infantry shared with the English in the defeat of Bouvines and the victory of Crécy; Belgian mercenaries fought heroically under, as well as against, Alva and Parma; Belgians, again, supplied some of the best corps in the Austrian armies commanded by Prince Eugène or by Marshal Daun. These things are less realized than they should be, because the name "Belgian" only came into general use to describe the



people in the eighteenth century. In their most famous periods they were known only as the Flemings and Walloons. The perpetual divisions and rivalries between the different towns and provinces had the effect, as in ancient Greece and Renaissance Italy, of preventing them from achieving the sustained united effort necessary to form a powerful state.

#### LOVERS OF LIBERTY

The one popular civic leader who thoroughly saw the need of it and had perhaps the genius to carry it through, Jacques van Artevelde of Ghent (1285-1345), was murdered after a brilliant ten years by fellow-citizens who did not understand him. Yet the civic resistance of the people against aggression or oppression was always most formidable. At the battles of Cassel and Mons in 1071 the burgher forces had already shown themselves a match for knights and men-at-arms; but their most glorious feat was the battle of Courtrai (1302), when 25,000 infantry, composed of the Flemish civic trained-bands, annihilated an army of 50,000, which included the proudest chivalry of France. After this "Battle of the Golden Spurs" no less than 700 gold spurs were taken from the heels of slain French nobles. The burgher patriot leaders in the great uprising against the French, Pieter de Coninc and Jan Breydel, have in recent years been commemorated by the giving of their names to the two finest

steamers on the Dover-Ostend route. One wonders how many of the innumerable British tourists, who have appreciated these boats, appreciate also the great story of their namesakes.

#### PHILIP OF SPAIN

The most terrible war ever waged in the Low Countries was that at the end of the sixteenth century between Philip II. of Spain and his revolted subjects. When the Emperor Charles V. bequeathed the seventeen provinces, which are now Belgium and Holland, to his Spanish successor, they were both flourishing and loyal. Their revenues were more valuable than those of the Indies; and their fidelity was shown at the beginning of Philip's reign in the two campaigns of St. Quentin (1557) and Gravelines (1558), when armies, that were chiefly Belgian in composition and led by a Belgian general, Count Egmont (afterwards beheaded by Alva), gained sensational victories over the French on Spain's behalf. The fanaticism and cruelty of Philip II. ruined all this; it converted the Netherlands into the cockpit of Europe's religious wars (French, English, Spanish and Germans all taking a share); and the damage inflicted on the Belgian part of the Provinces was never really repaired till the nineteenth century.

It must be remembered that till then the rich and populous cities of the Low Countries were almost confined to what is now Belgium. Holland was poor and unimportant, and owed

its ultimate freedom to that circumstance as well as to its water defences. The Spanish Government concentrated on recovering the Belgian Provinces, and finally through the genius of the Prince of Parma it was successful. But its prize was destroyed in the grasping; the long years of war and pillage had fearfully reduced both the wealth and the population of these mercilessly harried lands; and the privateers of the young Dutch Republic, by blockading the Scheldt and so strangling Antwerp, completed the transference of prosperity from enslaved Belgium to free Holland. The one became a Great Power; the other, the "cock-pit of Europe."

#### A SUNSET GLOW

There was indeed a sunset glow of greatness at Antwerp in the early part of the seventeenth century, the period of the painters Rubens and Jordaens and Van Dyck, of the great Antwerp printers, and of Lipsius, Heinsius, and Mercator. But it did not last, because the rise of France, first under Richelieu and then under Louis XIV., led to a series of devastating wars on Belgian soil, in most of which the Belgian victims had no real interest and were too weak to play any but a passive part. Between 1635 and 1748, there were fought within or just outside the Belgian frontiers the great battles of Rocroi, Lens, the Dunes, Seneffe, Steinkirk, Neerwinden, Ramillies, Oudenarde,

Malplaquet, Fontenoy, and Lauffeld. The great generals who earned their celebrity principally in that arena include such names as Condé and Turenne, William III. and Luxembourg, Marlborough and Prince Eugène and Marshal Saxe. There were sieges innumerable; most of the towns were at least once bombarded, and some, especially Namur, Mons, and Tournai, were the regular counters of international warfare. Louis XIV.'s great fortification-engineer, Vauban, made his reputation over them. Some which had been famous Belgian towns, like Lille, Douai, and Valenciennes, became French, and are French still. The warfare of that period was of a dilatory type, a classical affair of marches and counter-marches, blockades and sieges, summer campaigns and winter cantonments, conducted by the strict rules which Napoleon I. subsequently delighted to break. But every army "lived on the country," and every army was composed largely of "mercenaries" in the strict sense, soldiers of fortune enlisted on promises of loot and rape as well as wages, and apt to mutiny unless at frequent intervals they were given a town or some villages to sack. The plight of the Belgian population, condemned to be the helpless victims of such practices for war after war and campaign after campaign, hardly bears thinking of. They were trampled to the very dust; and only after the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle (1748) had they anything like a breathing-space.



## CONQUERED THRICE

This was broken in 1789 by a Belgian Republican revolt against Austria, which was no sooner quelled than the French Revolutionary forces came on the scene. In the three successive years 1792-3-4 Belgium was thrice conquered—first by the French through their victory at Jemmappes; then by the Austrians by the second battle of Neerwinden; and then by the French again, by that of Fleurus. After this it enjoyed internal peace (with a good deal of mis-government) under the French till the fall of Napoleon. In 1813, after the French Emperor's defeat at Leipzig, it was invaded by a force of Prussians and Russians under Bülow, which in 1814 won the battle of Hoogstraeten, and proceeded to occupy in order Liège, Brussels, Mons, Charleroi, Courtrai, and Tournai. The interest of this campaign, however, has been quite eclipsed by that of the following year, when Napoleon, having escaped from Elba, conducted his last great operations on the Belgian plain. The story of Wavre, Quatre Bras, Ligny and Waterloo is too famous to need re-telling. Strategically the French Emperor worsted Blücher and Wellington altogether; but his personal indisposition on the day of Waterloo, together with the incapacity of two of his Army Corps commanders and the unsurpassed toughness of the British infantry, spoilt his plans at the moment of their fruition and lost

him the most decisive of the world's battles. The legend that Belgian troops covered themselves with shame on this occasion is, though prevalent in England, not founded on fact.

## A UNITED NETHERLANDS!

After the fall of Napoleon, Belgium was given to Holland, largely at the instance of the Duke of Wellington, who wished a United Netherlands to be a buffer against France. Unfortunately the Dutch King misgoverned the country, and in 1830, after the July Revolution in Paris, the Belgians rose in revolt. With remarkable bravery their volunteer forces engaged the Dutch regular army, defeated it repeatedly, and drove it out of every place but the Antwerp citadel. Next year they would possibly have been crushed, but the intervention of the Powers saved them. Their chief friend abroad was Louis Philippe, the newly-made French King, who had hopes of the Belgian throne for his son; but this was vetoed by England, and finally the crown went to Leopold I., who as widower of our Princess Charlotte and brother of our Queen Victoria's mother had become practically an English prince. Belgium's independence and neutrality dated from 1831; the present treaty imposing and guaranteeing the latter dates from 1839. Neutrality has been very well observed by the Belgians, but several times threatened from outside. In 1852 Napoleon III. had designs on it after the "Coup



d'état." In 1870 Bismarck secured British sympathy by publishing a French draft treaty giving Belgium to France. The British Government thereupon concluded special treaties with both Bismarck and Napoleon III., binding each to respect Belgian neutrality during the war. These were kept; and the principle of Belgian neutrality was more than ever confirmed as part of the public law of Europe. It was of eighty-three years' standing when the Kaiser violated it on August 4th of this year.

#### IN THEIR PLACE

To realise fully what that violation means, one must put oneself in the Belgians' position. They are a very gifted people of strong individuality; all history shows it. But no comparable nation, not even the Italian, has suffered so much from foreign rule and from the predilection of foreign nations for fighting out their battles on its soil. For them, neutrality and independence go together; if they lose the one, the other is in the nature of the case doomed. If they let one Power march over their territory to attack another, many Powers would renew their strategic appetite for its points of vantage. Their only chance of freedom and non-molestation is to keep out all comers; and if they cannot keep the aggressor out, to make him regret in the long run that he ever came in. This is what they have tried to do in Germany's case.

They have stood up to the Kaiser's armies with a resolution based on centuries of bitter experience, and inculcated in every individual Belgian from the school and the cradle.

They claim the more sympathy because they have used their freedom well. No sooner was the weight lifted from them in 1831 than the old glories and aptitudes of the Flemish and Walloons began to revive. Antwerp is once more one of Europe's great ports. The fabrics of Flanders and Brabant, the metallurgy of Liège and the Walloon provinces, once more cross the seas. The towns that made armour and swords in the Middle Ages, now sell locomotives and automobiles and guns all over the world. Chemical and other scientific industries flourish side by side with an intensive agriculture and a well-managed forestry. The national system of transport and transit has probably no superior in its essentials.

#### A PROGRESSIVE COUNTRY

Both in numbers and in wealth the country has left Holland decidedly behind. Its population is far the densest in Europe, and yet one of the best housed. Its political constitution (which was home-made) has worked well and been a model to others. Among its working-classes the great idealist enterprises—Socialism, co-operation, municipalism—have flourished in practical forms. It has had great writers, both in Flemish and in French; and some of the latter, such as Maeterlinck and

Verhaeren, have world-wide fame. It has had great savants too, and great musicians; and above all, it has had great painters and sculptors and builders, who have continued remarkably upon these sides the glories of the Belgian races.

Such were some of the lights in the picture before the war came. No doubt there were also shadows. But the calamity of the war itself—unsought, unprovoked, utterly undeserved—out-darkens all. On a nation of seven and a half millions the most formidable fighting-machine in the world fell like a bludgeon. Lives have been poured out like water, and not of fighting-men only. Villages and farms have been

burned; good-sized country-towns utterly destroyed; civilians, including women and children, murdered on a large scale; behind and above all these is the deliberate ruin of the nation's intellectual heritage at Louvain, the Belgian Oxford—even Alva did nothing so irreparable or so wholly in the Vandal spirit as that. Merely on the economic side, it would take decades for the Belgian people to make good the losses which have been inflicted on them. Surely whatever else Europe decides at the close of this war, it must see that this brave little nation is indemnified so far as it can be; and that as it gave freely, to its everlasting honour, so it shall freely receive.

## XI. THE NAVIES ON THE SEA

UPON the great struggle which has convulsed Europe; the country and the Empire entered with an immense initial advantage. As the great Sea Power, England controlled sea communications. Her Navy was her sword and buckler. It was the sword which enabled her to sweep the German flag from the seas, to grip the sinews of German industries, to dislocate German commerce, to transport troops to French soil and to summon reinforcements from every quarter of the globe. As our defence it protected our own commerce from attack, providing for the importation of food and raw material unimpeded, whereby there was plenty in the land, and food prices showed scarcely any tendency to rise. It has been said that with the Navy we have security, and that without it we await annihilation. The Navy in the opening stage of the war has exercised its old functions, in which fighting plays a comparatively small part, but it showed in the action in the Heligoland Bight the dashing qualities which have always distinguished it.

### A GRAND ARMADA

The fleet which is engaged in the

war in Home Waters is known as the Grand Fleet. Before the war it was organized under the designation of the Home Fleets, of which there were three. The first fleet comprised four Battle Squadrons, the First Battle Cruiser Squadron, three other Cruiser Squadrons, a Light Cruiser Squadron, the Fleet Destroyer Flotillas, repair ships, and mine-sweeping gunboats. These squadrons and flotillas include all the most modern and powerful vessels, and every one of them had full complements. The Second Fleet consisted of two Battle Squadrons formed of rather older ships, with two Cruiser Squadrons and a mine-laying squadron. The vessels of this fleet were in commission with reduced complements, completed by drawing officers and men from the schools and shore establishments, with a proportion taken from the Immediate Reserve.

This was the "nucleus crew" system, introduced by Lord Fisher, to replace the old inefficient plan of keeping such ships in the "Steam Reserve," with ship-keepers merely to look after the vessels. The Patrol Flotillas came next in the organization, consisting of four large flotillas



of destroyers and torpedo boats, with flotilla cruisers and depôt ships, and seven flotillas of submarines, all these being based on Portsmouth, Devonport and Chatham. The Third Fleet, like the Second, had two Battle Squadrons of still older ships—"Majestic" and "Canopus" classes—with six squadrons of cruisers. These Third Fleet ships were attached to the Nore, Portsmouth and Devonport commands, and had small complements on board, consisting chiefly of the specialist ratings. They were completed to full commission by calling out the Fleet Reserve, and embodying officers and men of the Royal Naval Reserve.

### READY! AYE, READY!

Out of these elements the Grand Fleet under the command of Admiral Sir John Jellicoe, was organized. The war found the Fleets in a ready state

for war, because the Second and Third Fleets had been called out for a great Test Mobilization, and were in commission with full complements at the outbreak of hostilities.

In addition to the ships of the Grand Fleet are those in the Mediterranean, and on the China, East Indies and Cape of Good Hope stations.

The British Fleet has two principal classes of vessels, commonly known as "Dreadnoughts" and "Super-Dreadnoughts," these being battleships and battle-cruisers, and the class consisting of older battleships, though fully efficient, which are "pre-Dreadnoughts." The battleships "Lord Nelson" and "Agamemnon," though immediately preceding the "Dreadnought," are officially ranked with the "Dreadnought" class, and are therefore included in the following list of "Dreadnoughts" and "super-Dreadnoughts."

	Completed	Displacement.	Armament.	Torpedo Tubes.	Speed.
		Tons.			Knots.
Iron Duke - - -	1914	25,000	10—13·5 inch 12—6 inch	4	21
Marlborough - - -	1914				
Emperor of India - - -	1914				
Benbow - - -	1914				
Centurion - - -	1913	23,000	10—13·5 inch 16—4 inch	3	21
Ajax - - -	1913				
Audacious - - -	1913				
King George V. - - -	1912				
Conqueror - - -	1912	22,500	10—13·5 inch 16—4 inch	3	21
Thunderer - - -	1912				
Orion - - -	1912				
Monarch - - -	1912				
Hercules - - -	1911	20,000	10—12 inch 16—4 inch	3	21
Colossus - - -	1911				
Neptune - - -	1911	19,900	10—12 inch 16—4 inch	3	21

	Com- pleted.	Displacement.	Armament.	Torpedo Tubes.	Speed.
		Tons.			Knots.
St. Vincent - - -	1910	19,250	10—12 inch	3	21
Collingwood - - -	1910		18—4 inch		
Vanguard - - -	1910				
Bellerophon - - -	1909	18,600	10—12 inch	3	21
Temeraire - - -	1909		16—4 inch		
Superb - - -	1909				
Lord Nelson - - -	1908	16,500	4—12 inch	5	18
Agamemnon - - -	1908		10—9·2 inch		
Dreadnought - - -	1906	17,900	10—12 inch 24—12 pdr.	5	21
<i>Completing.</i>					
Queen Elizabeth - - -	—	27,500	8—15 inch 12—6 inch	—	25 (Oil)
Warspite - - -	—				
Valiant - - -	—				
Barham - - -	—				
Malaya - - -	—	25,750	8—15 inch 12—6 inch	—	21
Royal Sovereign - - -	—				
Royal Oak - - -	—				
Revenge - - -	—				
Resolution - - -	—				
Ramillies - - -	—				
<b>BATTLE-CRUISERS.</b>					
Queen Mary - - -	1913	27,000	8—13·5 inch 16—4 inch	2	28
Tiger - - -	1914	28,000	8 13·5 inch 12—6 inch	—	28
Princess Royal- Lion - - -	1912 1912	26,350	8—13·5 inch 16—4 inch	2	28
New Zealand - - -	1912				
Indefatigable - - -	1911	18,750	8—12 inch 16—4 inch	2	26
Invincible - - -	1909	17,250	8—12 inch 16—4 inch	5	26
Inflexible - - -	1908				
Indomitable - - -	1908				
<b>AUSTRALIA.</b> (Dominion Service.)					
Australia - - -	1913	18,800	8—12 inch 16—4 inch	2	26

The most important of the pre-Dreadnoughts are the eight battleships of the "King Edward VII." class, completed in 1905-6, displacing 16,350 tons, carrying four 12-in., four 9'4-in. and ten 6-in. guns, with four torpedo-tubes and 18 knots' speed. These ships constitute the Third Battle Squadron. Next after these come five "Duncans," completed 1903-4, 14,000 tons, four 12-in., twelve 6-in. guns, four torpedo-tubes, 18 knots. With these may be ranked the "Triumph" and "Swiftsure," taken over from a South American Republic, 11,800 tons, four 10-in., fourteen 7'5-in. guns. The eight "Formidables" (1901-4), 15,000 tons, the six of the "Canopus" class (1899-1902), 12,950 tons, and the eight "Majestics," 14,900 tons, have all the same armament, viz. four 12-in. and twelve 6-in. guns.

Great Britain is thus possessed of seventy-two battleships, built and completing, of all the classes described, as well as ten "Dreadnought" battle-cruisers, including the "Australia," which is now in Dominion waters. Excluding the latter, as absent from the immediate theatre of war, we have forty-three "Dreadnoughts" and "super-Dreadnoughts," ten of them named above being advancing rapidly towards completion. In addition are the two battleships which have been taken over by the Admiralty, built for Turkey ("Agincourt" and "Erin"), and the four battleships of the present year's programme.

#### THE NIMBLE CRUISER

The cruisers of the British Navy number forty-six, of which thirty-four are armoured cruisers, nineteen of these having a main armament of 9'2-in. guns, six of them with 7'5-in. guns, and nine with 6-in. guns. Six of the most powerful have secondary armaments of 7'3-in. guns, and many of the others of 6-in. guns. The list of light cruisers includes seventy-seven vessels, of which four are building and a few completing. In addition are five light cruisers for Dominion service.

The torpedo vessels, gunboats and depot ships number twenty-six, and the destroyers 195, excluding three for Australia, and twelve additional, which are to hand. There are 106 various torpedo boats, and ninety-six submarines. Others of the latter class are building.

In addition are auxiliary vessels of various classes, oil-tankers, and many others for various purposes.

The personnel of the Navy has increased with great rapidity within recent years, and numbered 151,000 officers, seamen, boys, coastguards and Royal Marines. There is now active promotion from the lower deck. Large entries of young officers are being made, and a considerable number have been taken over from the Royal Naval Reserve.

#### FRANCE ON THE OCEAN

The friendly and allied Navy of France has within recent years



witnessed a surprising development both in strength and organization. M. Delcassé and Admiral Boué de Lapéyrière, now commanding in the Mediterranean, as Ministers of Marine accomplished an enormous task. Ships of the most formidable class were put in hand, training was set on a better footing, the dockyards were reorgan-

ized, and in trust upon the Entente Cordiale, the main force of the Fleet was transferred to the Mediterranean, where it has been engaged with the Austro-Hungarian Fleet, sinking the cruiser "Zenta" and other vessels.

The French ships of "Dreadnought" class are as follows :

	Completed.	Displacement.	Armament.	Torpedo Tubes.	Speed.
		Tons.			Knots.
France - - - -	1914	23,100	} 12—12 inch 22—5·5 inch	4	20
Paris - - - -	1914	23,100			
Jean Bart - - -	1913	23,095			
Jourbet - - - -	1913	23,095			
<i>Building.</i>					
Bretagne - - -	1914 (?)	} 23,177	10—13·4 inch 22—5·5 inch	4	20
Provence - - -	1914 (?)				
Lorraine - - -	1914 (?)				
Normandie - - -	—	} 24,830	12—13·4 inch 24—5·5 inch	6	21
Languedoc - - -	—				
Flandre - - - -	—				
Gascogne - - -	—				
Béarn - - - -	—				

The six battleships of the "Danton" class (1911), displacing 18,500 tons, and carrying four 12-in. and twelve 9·4-in. guns, are also generally accounted as "Dreadnoughts," being more than the equals of the British "Lord Nelsons." In all, therefore, France has ten battleships of the first class, and three others nearing completion.

The pre-Dreadnoughts are five "Patrics," the "Suffren," three "Charlemagnes," two "Bouvets" and

the "Charles Martel"—twelve in all—each carrying a main armament of four 12-in. guns, or two 12-in. and two 10·8, with a secondary armament of 5·5-in. guns. The French have no battle-cruisers, but there are twenty-four armoured and other cruisers, and eight light cruisers, and three torpedo cruisers.

The list of French destroyers includes eighty vessels and others building. They are all of useful classes,

and about a dozen of the latest are of a very powerful class, displacing from 750 to 850 tons, and carrying two 4-in. and four 9-pr. guns, with two double torpedo-tubes. France has also seventeen sea-going and 136 smaller torpedo boats.

The submarines number seventy-six, but of these about a dozen have yet to be completed.

The number of officers and men is over 60,000.

### RUSSIA AND HER SHIPS

The Russian Navy, like the French, has been undergoing a great reorganization. The impetus given to it is almost as powerful as that which has created the German Navy, but it was not ready at the outbreak of war, in the sense of having its most powerful ships completed, though its first four "Dreadnoughts" should by this time be ready. More important even than the building of the ships has been the reorganization of the dockyards, largely with British assistance, and the improved training of officers and men.

The Baltic is the most important theatre of war. The following are the "Dreadnoughts" there, four in number, launched in 1911, and now completed or just on the point of completion: "Sevastopol," "Petropavlovsk," "Poltava," and "Gangut." They are of 23,000 tons, carry twelve 12-in. guns, sixteen 4.7-in. and four smaller, have four torpedo-tubes, and are designed for a speed of 23 knots. Four "Dread-

nought" battle-cruisers of 32,200 tons are building, but they are yet in an early stage. The only other important "capital" ships are the four battle-ships "Imperator Pavel I.," "Andrei Pervozvannyi," "Slava" and "Cesarevitch," completed between 1902 and 1911, displacing from 12,600 to 17,400 tons, each carrying four 12-in. guns and from twelve to sixteen 6-in. guns—in the case of the two ships first mentioned fourteen 8-in. guns.

Russia has a very powerful armoured cruiser, the "Rurik," completed by Messrs. Vickers, at Barrow, in 1907, displacing 19,355 tons, mounting four 10-in., eight 8-in. and thirty-four smaller guns, and steaming at 21 knots. The "Admiral Makaroff," "Bayan" and "Pallada" are smaller armoured cruisers (7,755 tons), completed 1908-1911, and carrying two 8-in., eight 6-in. and thirty smaller guns; speed 21 knots. The "Gromoboi" and "Rossiya" are older armoured cruisers, mounting four 18-in. and twenty-two 6-in. guns. There are also the protected cruisers "Oleg," "Bogatyr," "Askold" and "Aurora." In addition are two old light cruisers, and two quite modern, of 4,300 tons, carrying eight 6-in. guns, and steaming at 27.5 knots. These are the "Mouravieff Amursky" and "Admiral Nevelskoi," and have been built in the German yard of Schichau at Elbing, near Danzig. They were launched in 1914, and are believed to have been delivered.

The most remarkable feature of the

Russian Navy is the extraordinary development of the flotillas. There are not less than seventy destroyers in the Baltic, and thirty-eight building, as well as about twenty-five torpedo boats. Russia has also about thirty submarines completed and a dozen building.

In the Black Sea are four pre-Dreadnoughts and battleships, three of Dreadnought type completing, two cruisers, about seventeen destroyers, and a few submarines.

#### GERMANY'S NAVAL STRENGTH

The creation of the Germany Navy has long been the outstanding feature in international politics. Germany, the greatest military Power in the world, was bringing into existence a navy which threatened the supremacy of the Great Sea Power. Into the hidden and deep-rooted sources of this new naval expansion it is impossible to enter. A volume might be written on the subject. All may be said to date from the year 1907, when Admiral von Tirpitz rose to power, at the time Kiaochow was acquired, and the ideas of the "mailed fist," the "German Michael," and the "Weltreich" or world-empire, were abroad. Various projects of naval expansion were put forward, but for the sake of brevity and clearness, certain salient points may be set forth, going back to the year 1900 :

1. The Navy Law of that year, which doubled the earlier programme, and provided for a particular estab-

lishment of battleships (38), large cruisers (14), and small cruisers (38).

2. The Amendment of 1906, which added six large cruisers which the Reichstag had struck out of the 1900 scheme, and provided for 144 destroyers, and some submarines.

3. The Amendment of 1908, which, by reducing the age-limit of battleships from twenty-five to twenty years, made it necessary to build certain additional ships.

4. The conversion of the "large cruisers" or armoured cruisers into battle-cruisers of the "Dreadnought" type, beginning with the "Von der Tann" (1907). This change, said the Germans, was made necessary by the fact that all other Powers were ceasing to build armoured cruisers, and that we were building battle-cruisers.

5. The Amendment of 1912, which added three battleships (dates for beginning only two of them being specified), and two small cruisers.

The effect of these measures and changes has been to provide for a total establishment of 41 battleships, 20 "large cruisers" (armoured cruisers and battle-cruisers) and 40 small cruisers, as also 144 destroyers and 72 submarines, the destroyers being built at the rate of 12, and the submarines of six in each year.

The following is a full list of German Dreadnought battleships and battle-cruisers :



	Com- pleted.	Displacement.	Armament.	Torpedo Tubes.	Speed.
		Tons.			Knots.
König - - - -	1914	24,310	10—12 inch 14—5.9 inch	5	23
Grosser Kurfürst - - -	1914				
Markgraf - - - -	1914				
Kronprinz - - - -	1914				
Prinzregent Luitpold -	1913	24,310	10—12 inch 14—5.9 inch	5	21
König Albert - - - -	1913				
Kaiserin - - - -	1913				
Friedrich der Grosse -	1912				
Kaiser - - - -	1912	22,440	12—12 inch 14—5.9 inch	6	20
Oldenburg - - - -	1912				
Thüringen - - - -	1911				
Ostfriesland - - - -	1911				
Helgoland - - - -	1911	18,600	12—11 inch 12—5.9 inch	6	20
Rheinland - - - -	1910				
Posen - - - -	1910				
Nassau - - - -	1909				
Westfalen - - - -	1909				
BATTLE-CRUISERS.					
Derfflinger - - - -	1914	28,000	8—12 inch 12—5.9 inch	4	27
Lützow - - - -	1914				
Seydlitz - - - -	1913	24,640	10—11 inch 12—5.9 inch	4	26
Moltke - - - -	1911				
Von der Tann - - - -	1911	—	—	4	26

Two other battleships, known as Ersatz Wörth and T., are in hand, carrying eight 15 inch and sixteen 5.9-inch guns. They may be ready next year, and it may be well to include them as approximately ready, though the date indicated for completion is the spring of 1916. The battle-cruiser "Goeben" (sister of the "Moltke") took refuge in the Dardanelles, and was lost to Germany. Another battle-cruiser is in hand, and may be completed next year. She also may be included in the list.

It may further be assumed that the fine Greek battle-cruiser "Salamis," carrying eight 14-in. guns and a 6-in. armament will be added to the German Navy. She is just being completed at Stettin.

Passing to German pre-Dreadnoughts we find that there are the following: five "Deutschlands" (1906-8), 13,040 tons, four 11-in., fourteen 6.7-in. guns, six torpedo tubes; five "Braun-

schweigs" (1904-6), 13,000 tons, same armament; five "Wittelsbachs" (1902-4), 11,611 tons, four 9.4-in. and 18 5.9-in. guns; five "Kaisers" (1900-2), 10,474 tons, same armament.

Germany has therefore thirty-seven battleships, and two others nearing completion, towards her establishment of forty-one, and seventeen of her actually completed ships are

"Dreadnoughts." The two others may properly be taken account of. She has also (having lost the "Goeben") five "Dreadnought" battle-cruisers, and one approaching completion, but the "Salamis" must be added.

Her armoured cruisers are nine in number, completed between 1900 and 1910. The largest is the "Blücher," 15,550 tons, twelve 8·2-in. and eight 5·9-in. guns; and the smallest the "Prince Heinrich," 8,756 tons, two 9·4 in. and ten 5·9-in. guns.

The German Navy has a large number of light cruisers, but it is known that she has lost five in the war: the "Magdeburg," destroyed in the Baltic; the "Breslau," refuged with the "Goeben" in the Dardanelles; and the "Cöln," "Mainz" and "Ariadne," sunk by the British in the action in the Bight of Heligoland. There remain forty, but seven of these are obsolete, and two are completing. On the effective list are thirty-three, all completed since 1898, but five of the older ones are being replaced.

At the opening of the war Germany had one hundred and forty-four destroyers and eight completing, with twelve more in hand. A good many of the boats have been lost and damaged in the war. The submarines number about twenty-seven ready and twelve building.

The personnel of the German Navy numbers in 1914, 79,080 (an increase of 6,191), including 2,388 officers.

#### AUSTRIA-HUNGARY.

Germany's ally did not enter upon

the war in conditions very satisfactory to herself. Great efforts have been made to increase the navy, but progress has been slow.

There are now four Dreadnoughts: "Viribus Unitis," "Tegetthoff," "Prinz Eugen," and "Szent Istvan," completed 1912-14, displacing 20,010 tons, carrying twelve 12-in., twelve 5·9-in., and twenty-five smaller guns, also four torpedo tubes, and having a speed of 20·5 knots. The three latest pre-Dreadnoughts, "Zrinyi," "Radetzky," and "Erzherzog Franz Ferdinand," are analogous to the "Lord Nelsons" and to the French "Dantons," and sometimes are accounted as "Dreadnoughts"--14,300 tons, four 12-in. and eight 9·4-in. guns, speed 20 knots. There are also three battleships of 10,430 tons (four 9·4-in. and twelve 7·5-in. guns), and six smaller of comparatively little value.

The navy includes a couple of armoured cruisers, of which one, the "Santet Georg," is of a powerful type, and eleven light cruisers. The "Zenta" (2,263 tons) was sunk in action with the French Fleet.

There are fourteen destroyers, about forty-two torpedo-boats, and eight submarines completed.

It is now possible to estimate the relative naval strength of the opposing Powers in the principal classes of vessels, including those which are ready or nearing completion, and counting the "Lord Nelson" and the French "Dantons" as Dreadnoughts.

	Battleships.		Battle-Cruisers.	Cruisers.	Light Cruisers.
	Dreadnoughts.	Pre-Dreadnoughts.			
Britain - - -	36	38	9*	46	77
France - - -	13	12	—	24	11
Russia (Baltic only)	4	4	—	10	4
	53	54	9	80	92
Germany - -	19	20	7	9	33
Austria-Hungary -	7	9	—	2	11
	26	29	7	11	44

\* "Australia" excluded.

#### OTHER POWERS

Italy remains neutral in the war, but she is a strong naval power. She has six "Dreadnought" battleships in commission or completing; eight older battleships, of which six are powerful; nine cruisers; eleven light cruisers, forty destroyers, seventy-five torpedo-boats, and twenty submarines.

Turkey has been adding to her armaments, but her two battleships which were being built in England have been taken over by the British

Navy. On the other hand, Turkey appears to have become possessed of the German battle-cruiser "Goeben." She has two battleships completed in 1893-4, which she bought from Germany, and two old ships. Her light cruisers number seven, and her destroyers ten.

Greece has three old battleships, and the fine armoured cruiser, "Georgius Averoff." The "Salamis," which is just being completed at Stettin, has not been delivered. Five light cruisers, fourteen destroyers, and two submarines complete the list.



## XII. THE ARMIES IN THE FIELD

THE violation of the neutrality of Belgium made it imperative for the British Army to take its place beside the Army of France in the western theatre of war. Such a use of the Army had not been contemplated, but, when Lord Haldane was at the War Office, it was part of his plan of reorganization to create an Expeditionary Force, intended really for service in Egypt or any other part of the Empire, but adapted for such war service as has now been undertaken. This Expeditionary Force was to consist of one Cavalry Division (four brigades and divisional troops), six Infantry Divisions, each of three brigades and divisional troops, and Army Troops (engineers and others). The immediate object was to maintain this force in the field for at least six months, or indeed for any period, by means of drafts from the Regular and Special Reserves.

### THE COMPONENT PARTS

The force was to include six battalions of Guards, and sixty-six of the line, these, of course, being exclusive of fifty-two battalions in India and others in the Colonies. The four cavalry brigades were to comprise

twelve regiments, and the artillery to consist of seventy-eight horse, field and howitzer batteries, and six garrison batteries of sixty-pounders. The approximate strength was 5,600 officers and 162,000 men. The troops sent to France had a strength of 150,000 officers and men. In the first battles were two army corps and a cavalry division. The casualties in killed, wounded and missing have been heavy, but reinforcements were sent to the front to make good the losses.

The mobilization of the Territorial Force was conducted with the utmost smoothness, and in the way of volunteering for foreign service, the power of greatly strengthening the forces at the front was opened to the military authorities. It was determined to bring two divisions of Indian troops to the seat of war, and the utmost enthusiasm prevailed in the Dominions in preparing to send contingents whenever they might be required. A great source of strength was thus developed, and to Lord Kitchener's appeal the young men of the country responded with the utmost promptitude and enthusiasm. A vote for 500,000 men for the Army was passed,

450,000 of these were recruited at the rate of about 30,000 a day, and provision was then made for securing another half million men.

### ALL ARMS !

The system of the British Army is to maintain a fixed number of cavalry regiments, infantry battalions, and artillery and engineer formations in India and certain Colonies. Each infantry battalion has a sister battalion serving at home, from which it receives drafts, while the cavalry and other troops are fed from regiments and depôts. Two regiments of cavalry returned from South Africa, and the formation of a fifth cavalry brigade was proceeded with.

Time-expired men go into the Regular Army Reserve, and come out

on mobilization. Men are recruited into the Special Reserve, which has taken the place of the Militia. Enlistment into the Territorial Army is voluntary for home service, but on mobilization the desire to volunteer for foreign service was general. Outside all these formations is the National Reserve, consisting largely of former volunteers, and the strength of the organization, which is new, had risen on January 1st, 1914, to 217,000, of whom 13,000 officers and men had taken the obligation to serve abroad or at home.

The total number of men on the Home and Colonial Establishments of the Regular Army, exclusive of India, is 186,400.

The following were the total strengths for all services given in a return on February 1st, 1914 :

	Officers.	N.C.O.'s & Men.	Total.
Regular Army - - - -	10,431	223,995	234,426
Special Reserve - - - -	2,422	62,133	64,555
Territorial Force - - - -	9,366	239,819	289,185
	22,219	525,947	548,166

The strength of the Regular Reserve is about 145,000, and of the National Reserve, as stated above, 217,000.

The total cost of the Army in the Estimates of the present year is £28,845,000.

### SOLDIERS OF FRANCE

Upon great additions being made to the German Army, the necessity of increasing the French forces became evident to the Government and the country, and the resources

of the country not being adequate to enable this to be done on the then existing scheme of recruitment, national enthusiasm enabled the authorities to return to the system of three years' service in the Active Army, and eleven years in the Reserve, with seven years in the Territorial Army, and seven in the reserve of that army. This was brought about by the Law of August 7th, 1913. This new system was introduced almost on the eve of the war, and has placed the French Army in a position of advantage which it would not otherwise have possessed. Preparations were also made to form a new Army Corps, the 21st, with its headquarters at Epinal.

The French Army Corps have their headquarters as follows: I., Lille; II., Amiens; III., Rouen; IV., Le Mans; V., Orleans; VI., Châlons; VII., Besançon; VIII., Bourges; IX., Tours; X., Rennes; XI., Nantes; XII., Limoges; XIII., Clermont-Ferrand; XIV., Lyons; XV., Marseilles; XVI., Montpellier; XVII.

Toulouse; XVIII., Bordeaux; XIX., Algiers; XX., Nancy. The 19th Corps has been brought to France, under the escort of the Allied Fleets.

The President of the Republic is the Chief of the French Army, and the Minister of War by delegation. There is a Superior Council of National Defence. The Superior Council of the Army before the war had the President or Minister of War as its president, and the chief of the Army General Staff, and ten generals of division, inspectors of groups of Army Corps, who had received letters of service, appointing them to commands at the outbreak of war as members. Each of those designed to command armies had been provided with a complete staff in time of peace. The Army General Staff had charge of all the military duties of the Army, including operations, training, organization, mobilization, etc., and its chief was the Commander-in-Chief designate. Here is a useful little table touching the French Army:

## HOME.

	Active Army.		Gendarmerie.		Horses.
	Officers.	Men.	Officers.	Men.	
1913 - - -	29,832	563,516	675	24,315	150,805
1914 - - -	28,519	763,796	675	24,340	152,529



## COLONIES.

	Officers.	Men.	Horses,
Establishment in 1913 - - - -	2,004	25,896	1,765
Establishment in 1914 - - - -	2,040	25,616	1,907

It was estimated that on the day of mobilization, France could muster 1,400,000 men. The first line including this figure was estimated to produce about 2,750,000 men, exclusive of fortress garrisons, and 2,000,000 additional men could ultimately be placed in the field.

## BELGIUM'S PLUCKY FORCE

The gallant little army of Belgium has always had much pity for itself. "We want to be re-organized, strengthened and made new altogether," it has said. The quality was there, as we all know, and the scheme was there too—but half completed when the war broke out. Still, it was stated last April that there was a cavalry division of six regiments, six infantry divisions, with artillery (36 field guns and howitzers, and divisional cavalry, engineers and others) also cyclists, telegraphists, and train, giving a total of 4,630 officers, 173,301 men, 37,549 horses, 4,452 horse and 1554 mechanically propelled vehicles. It was hoped, by 1917, to have a field army of 200,000, and a total of 350,000. Compulsory service has now become the law of the

land, and 35,000 men are to be taken yearly.

## RUSSIA'S MILLIONS

Since the war with Japan, the Russian Army has undergone a great re-organization, and the tremendous power it possesses was early demonstrated by the victory of Gumbinnen, and the advance in East Prussia, notwithstanding a serious reverse, and also by the smashing blow it inflicted on Austria at Lemberg. The re-organization has produced a great acceleration of mobilization and an increase in the value of the first line troops.

In Europe alone (excluding the Caucasus) the army has been increased by three corps, making 27, and it was possibly this increase that caused the Germans to place a new army corps on the Russian frontier, and the Austrians to create a new corps at Zara. The following table shows clearly the organization and distribution of the Russian army in Europe and the Caucasus, the total additions since 1910 being four army corps (7½ infantry divisions) and a cavalry division:

	Petrograd.	Wilna.	Warsaw.	Kiev.	Odessa.	Moscow.	Kazan.	Caucasus.	TOTALS.
Army Corps	4	4	5	5	2	5	2	3	30
Infantry Divisions	9	8½	10	10½	4½	10	5	7	64½
Cavalry Divisions	2	2½	7½	5	1	2	1	4	25

It was estimated before the war that between the 2nd and 12th days from mobilization, Russia could oppose her Wilna army and 6th corps (Bielostock)—three cavalry divisions, five army corps and 642 guns—to a German army of two cavalry divisions, four army corps and some reserve divisions with 612 guns. From the 3rd to the 22nd days she could oppose 13 army corps to an Austrian army of ten corps, about Jaroslav, and seven army corps with 972 guns to the Austrian right wing at Lemberg of five corps with 980 guns.

A more rational distribution, more rapid mobilization and concentration, an army increased in value and numbers, is enabling Russia to discharge her obligations to her allies more effectively, and better than in the past; she has been ready at the required moment with an army of the first rank, more soundly constituted.

The war strength of the Russian army has been estimated at 3,000,000 officers and men of the active army, and behind these are reserves, militia and others, bringing up the trained strength to 5,000,000. Of course,

the mobilization and movement of the whole of the active army could not be brought about rapidly.

#### SERVIA AND MONTENEGRO

The Servian Army has been set on a new footing based on national service, and has been brought into line in training and equipment with the greater armies of Europe. It has shewn against the Austrians very vigorous fighting powers. The forces are organized in five divisions, and with a peace strength of 35,000, the war strength was estimated at 220,000, but probably a larger number has been placed in the field.

The Montenegrins are a hard-fighting lot, but probably not able to place more than 30,000 men in the field. Their infantry has been organized in four divisions, comprising 52 battalions. They have some artillery, with French guns, but no cavalry. Field telegraphy and signalling are very efficient.

#### THE GERMAN MULTITUDE

Whatever may be the course of arms in the war, the enormous strength, excellent organization,

efficient equipment and extraordinary mobility of Germany's army have been demonstrated.

The German Army has just undergone a great re-organization, involving large additions to strength, and the creation of two army corps, one located at Saarbrücken on the French frontier, and the other at Allenstein in East Prussia. The scheme of 1912 proposed an active service army of 544,000 men, but it was superseded by the law of 1913, which increased the strength to 661,000. The periods of service have not been increased as in France, most of the young men passing two years with the colours (three years for the mounted troops), but much larger numbers are embodied every year.

In 1911, 292,155 men were incorporated in the army, but there was a great increase in the number of men, and for various reasons 10,087 were not taken, and 85,193, for whom there was no requirement were placed in the Ersatzreserve, or reserve of replacement, from which men could be taken to replace casualties. In 1912, 25,000 additional men were incorporated, and last year the additional contingent was 60,000, so that in round figures a quarter of a million men are taken for training every year. Exclusive of officers and non-commissioned officers, the German Army numbers 612,000 as compared with 583,000 in the French Army.

The Emperor is the chief of all the armies of the Empire in war, but not in peace, for the military oath is taken

to the sovereign, or chief, of the soldier's own birth-state. There are two Royal Saxon corps (12th and 19th) and one Royal Württemberg (13th), and the three Royal Bavarian corps have a separate numeration. The following are the headquarter stations of the 25 army corps: Guard, Berlin; I. Königsberg; II. Stettin; III. Berlin; IV. Magdeburg; V. Posen; VI. Breslau; VII. Münster; VIII. Coblenz; IX. Altona; X. Hanover; XI. Cassel; XII. Dresden; XIII. Stuttgart; XIV. Karlsruhe; XV. Strassburg; XVI. Metz; XVII. Danzig; XVIII. Frankfort-on-Main; XIX. Leipzig; XX. Allenstein; XXI. Saarbrücken; I. Bavarian, Munich; II. Bavarian, Würzburg; III. Bavarian, Nuremberg.

These army corps are divided into eight inspections, three corps to each, except that the three Bavarian corps at Munich had attached to them the 3rd corps (Berlin). At the head of each inspection, answering to the grouping of an army, was an inspecting general designated to command the army in war, and amongst these were several who have come into prominence during the war—Generals von Kluck, von Bülow, the Duke of Württemberg, von Heeringen and Prince Rupert of Bavaria.

Some particulars of the strength of the army has been given above. From the autumn of 1913 onwards, the army would increase to 675,000, and from the autumn of 1914, to 735,000, these figures being exclusive of officers, who number about 31,000.



The infantry total about 516,000, the cavalry 86,000, and the artillery 126,000, the other troops being distributed between the engineer, communication and special branches.

The mobilizable troops are estimated at 4,700,000, with another million at call, who have received little or no training.

### OF AUSTRIA-HUNGARY

The distinguishing feature of the Austro-Hungarian Army is that it consists of men of various nationalities speaking many languages. The active army is common to Austria and Hungary, but there are the Austrian Landwehr and Landsturm, and like forces for Hungary, known as the Honved, whereby the army has been brought up to war strength. The weakness of the Austro-Hungarian

Army is that its second line forces possess an inferior degree of training, owing to shorter service. Last year, however, two years' service was instituted for the whole of the infantry. The annual contingent remained for several years at the figure of 133,000, but last year was increased by 50,000 men, and was intended to be further increased by 80,000. Last year the Austro-Hungarian Army comprised 380,000 men, a number intended to be increased to 410,000.

The War strength is stated to be 3,800,000, including 950,000 men of the active army, 760,000 of the Landwehr and other formations and over 2,000,000 of the Landsturm.

In conclusion, we give a table showing by corps and their components, the comparative strength of the first line forces of the two Alliances, but excluding the lesser Powers:—

Formations.	ALLIES.				ENEMIES.		
	France (a).	Russia (b).	England.	TOTALS.	Germany.	Austria.	TOTALS.
Army Corps - - -	21	30	3	54	25	17	42
Infantry Divisions - - -	50	59	6	115	50	49	99
Cavalry Divisions - - -	10	22	1	33	11	8	19
Battalions - - -	669	950	79	1,689	669	683	1,352
Squadrons - - -	374	555	42	971	550	353	903
Batteries - - -	720	498	83	1,302	633	510	1,143

OBSERVATIONS.—(a) Including Colonial troops. (b) 27 European corps and three Caucasian corps.

Russian batteries have 8 guns; others have 6, except the French with 4.

### XIII. THE NATION IN ARMS

WHEN Britain's share in the great war comes to be viewed in the perspective of history, one of the finest achievements of this country will assuredly be admitted to have been the creation, with lightning-like rapidity, of a new National Army. Britain went into the war with an army which, as regards numbers, was no larger than that of many of the smaller European States. But it was realized at once that, without very much larger forces, we could not take our proper share, as a great Power, in the colossal conflict. The formation and training of an enormous new Army, during the actual progress of a world-war, was a task from which the most powerful country might well have shrunk, but it was cheerfully faced by the Government, who had at its disposal a military organizer of the highest genius in Lord Kitchener, and also a safeguard for the unmoled formation of the new Army in our unchallenged Navy.

#### A WONDERFUL RESPONSE

The first stage in the building-up of the second Army is little short of marvellous. On August 4th war was declared. On August 6th Lord

Kitchener was appointed War Minister. On August 7th he began his appeal for men. Four weeks later the Premier, in his great speech at the Guildhall, announced that "the response up to this day gives us between 250,000 and 300,000 men." A few days more and 500,000 was the figure reached. If we count the many thousands who offered, but were, for various reasons, rejected, and the vast number of oversea Britons who immediately volunteered, it is safe to say that nearly three-quarters of a million men rallied to the Empire in response, in this short time. With all these men already on the drill ground, and being fast turned into soldiers, the first chapter in the history of the new Army was ended. The Premier's announcement, on September 10th, that yet another 500,000 men were called for, and that the National Army would eventually be 1,500,000 strong, began a new and even more important chapter.

#### "K. OF K."

The appointment of Lord Kitchener as War Minister was without precedent in the history of this country, as placing a high military official in a post

always hitherto occupied by a civilian. But of his peculiar fitness for the post, in view of the formidable task of putting the nation into arms, there was never any doubt. A popular hero for his soldierly qualities, "K. of K." has always shown the greatest genius as an organizer, from the days of his brilliant Soudan campaign to his recent administrative achievements in Egypt. He works swiftly, silently and surely. There was nothing sensational in his first announcement to the country. With soldier-like strategy he at first asked for 100,000 men only. His simple straightforward appeal had an instantaneous effect. "An addition of 100,000 to H.M. Regular Army is immediately necessary in the present grave national emergency. Lord Kitchener is confident that this appeal will be at once responded to by all those who have the safety of our Empire at heart."

The response came at once, and in a few days the required number had flocked to the colours, and were at once sent off for training. By this time the country had begun to realize something of the stupendous task which lay before it and its Allies.

Then, with his brief but momentous speech in the House of Lords (on August 26th), the first the new War Minister had ever made in the chamber, he announced the preliminaries of his real plans.

The first 100,000 men had been obtained, but three or four times as many more would be needed to see

the war through in the way in which the British Empire must do it.

Lord Kitchener began his speech by reminding the country that his services, like those of the men upon whom he called, were to be upon the same terms—"for duration of the war, or for three years." The outline of the forces the country might eventually require was then laid before the nation.

#### WORDS OF HISTORY

Lord Kitchener's actual words are so important and so admirably chosen that they must be quoted in full:

"While other countries engaged in this war have under the system of compulsory service brought their full resources of men into the field, we under our national system have not done so, and can therefore still point to a vast reserve drawn from the resources both of the Mother Country and of the British Dominions across the seas. The response which has already been made by the great Dominions abundantly proves that we did not look in vain to these sources of military strength, and while India, Canada, Australia and New Zealand are all sending us powerful contingents, in this country the Territorials are replying with loyalty to the stern call of duty, which has come to them with such exceptional force. Over seventy battalions have with fine patriotism already volunteered for service abroad, and when trained and organized in the larger formations will be able to take their places in the



line. The 100,000 recruits for which in the first place it has been thought necessary to call have been already practically secured—and this force will be trained and organized in divisions similar to those which are now serving on the Continent. Behind these we have our Reserves. The Special Reserve and the National Reserve have each their own part to play in the organization of our national defence. The Empires with whom we are at war have called to the colours almost their entire male population. A principle we on our part shall observe is this—that while their maximum force undergoes a constant diminution the reinforcements we prepare shall steadily and increasingly flow out until we have an Army in the field which in numbers, not less than in quality, will not be unworthy of the power and responsibilities of the British Empire. I cannot at this stage say what will be the limits of the forces required or what measures may eventually become necessary to supply and maintain them. The scale of the Field Army which we are now calling into being is large, and may rise in the course of the next six or seven months to a total of thirty divisions continually maintained in the field. But if the war should be protracted, and if its fortunes should be varied or adverse, exertions and sacrifices beyond any which have been demanded will be required from the whole nation and Empire, and where they are required we are sure they will not be denied to the extreme needs

of the State by Parliament or the people."

#### NO CONSCRIPTION !

Thus a new Army whose strength should be from 500,000 to 600,000 was asked from the nation. The last part of the speech was by some people said to foreshadow conscription, but the Prime Minister gave assurances that nothing of the sort was contemplated. Neither would it be needed, for the very next day recruits continually flowed in for the second 100,000, until, as we have seen, on September 4th, Mr. Asquith was able to announce that nearly 300,000 men had joined the colours. As enlistment is still going on at the rate of many thousands a day, there is little reason to doubt that Lord Kitchener will have far more than 500,000 men. A voluntary Army recruited under such conditions will probably be worth a conscripted Army of twice the size.

The framework under which the new forces are being trained and organized forms a reserve with which to feed the Army now actually engaged in fighting, and may be looked upon as a sort of duplicate Army. It is to contain six divisions—Scottish, Irish, Northern, Western, Eastern, and Light Infantry. Each division is to consist of three brigades, and each brigade will be made up of battalions bearing famous names of regiments. Thus the first brigade of the Scottish Division will consist of the Black Watch, the Seaforth Highlanders,

the Gordon Highlanders, and the Cameron Highlanders.

Similarly a brigade of the Light Infantry will be formed of the King's Royal Rifles and the Rifle Brigade. It has already been settled that the headquarters and training ground of the Eastern Division shall be at Shorncliffe, that of the Western Division at Salisbury Plain, while the Irish Division will be at the Curragh.

### A LARGE RESERVE

The new Regular Army, large as it will be, is not the only force upon which Lord Kitchener intends to rely. His speech foreshadowed a mighty Empire Army, in which the Territorial Forces and the troops of the Overseas Dominions—Canada, Australia, and India—are to form important sections. Future Expeditionary Forces to the Continent will consist of divisions from all these sources, as well as from the Second Army.

Such large military reserves as the War Minister's foresight is thus preparing will not only be of the greatest possible value during the war, but after. It may well happen that when peace is in the air we, alone of all the Great Powers, might have remaining a large and unexhausted military force, a factor which would give us predominance in the final settlement. Such an idea evidently underlies Lord Kitchener's aims.

The Territorial Forces are to work hand-in-hand with the new Army. They are being divided into two parts,

foreign service volunteers and those for home service only. The gaps made in the battalions by the first-named are to be filled by extra recruiting, and the whole of the force is to be brought up to first-class fighting standard by additional training and equipment.

The immediate rush of recruits, in answer to the first appeals for men, strained to the utmost the resources of the War Office, which hitherto had been accustomed to deal with not more than about 35,000 enlistments per year, whereas more than this number were enlisted in the first week. The very first day after the war saw the recruiting office in Scotland Yard besieged by men, and mounted police had to keep the crowds back. Men were arriving at six in the morning, and after waiting all day could not be enrolled. The keenness of the nation's manhood has been extraordinary.

### RIISING TO THE OCCASION

Immediately fresh machinery was created to cope with the situation: new recruiting depôts were opened in London and the chief towns, and these also witnessed a steady stream of men arriving daily. In London the number has frequently risen to over 4,000 new recruits per day, and equally fine results have been achieved in the country. From the very first it was evident that the physique of the men coming forward was excellent, far better than the average in peace-time.







A short announcement on this subject, issued by the War Office after the first few days, stated that the percentage of unfit had fallen from 30 per cent. to less than 20 per cent., and after the first month this had fallen to less than 10 per cent. In the words of the official communiqué of August 10th, "the type of man, as well as the numbers coming forward, are most satisfactory." After the first 100,000 men had been raised, the age limit was extended from thirty to thirty-five, with very satisfactory results, for large numbers of fine athletic men between those two ages immediately enlisted.

The call to the colours has been answered by all classes in the country. In the ranks of the privates of the new Army there will be found, side by side, city clerks, agricultural labourers, artisans, sons of wealthy families, all in a comradeship of arms. Even peers' sons have become "rankers." A wise move on the part of the authorities was the promise that groups of friends, such as batches of men from the same factory or office, should be kept together in the same regimental battalions. This and other similar devices will knit together the ranks of the new Army in an altogether new way.

#### TRAINING THE RECRUITS

The problem of raising the men was not the most difficult part of the task. To get them trained was a far more formidable affair.

But Lord Kitchener and his staff set to work with remarkable rapidity, and within a week of the declaration of war hundreds of the new recruits were being drilled. An appeal was at once made for all retired commissioned and non-commissioned officers to come forward and take over the training of the new troops, with splendid results. Old soldiers, especially the non-coms., in many cases gave up a comfortable retirement to serve the nation once more, and thousands of the new men were thus enabled to begin their military work at once. The training of new officers in greatly increased numbers was also commenced immediately, so that the new Army would not find itself short of leaders.

The third great task which Lord Kitchener set himself was the speedy training of the new men. It was necessary to endeavour to make them efficient soldiers in at least a quarter of the time usually taken. Generally speaking, two years is considered the minimum time in which a man can be turned into a good fighting unit. The War Minister said it must be done in six months, and the seemingly impossible looks like being achieved. A six months' course for infantry and artillery was at once mapped out, and the results after the first month proved astonishing, for already many of the men were in a fair way to become excellent "rankers," and it was realized that, if the same rate of progress were to be maintained, a large part of the

new Army might be even ready to go to active service in the war at the end of the time mentioned. Such results must be considered as due not only to the great driving force at the head of affairs, but to the superior personnel in physique and intelligence, of the men themselves. They are being worked hard, but they have shown themselves capable of standing any amount of fatigue, and they have used their brains.

#### WHAT LONDON SEES

London and the other big cities have had many glimpses of the new Citizen Army. In the streets it has been a daily occurrence to see squads of splendid young men marching off to the depôts, while at railway stations one has seen them entraining for the big division training centres. There has even been vouchsafed to us the sight of recruits drilling in Hyde Park and other big open spaces. A uniform in the streets will soon be an every-day

sight instead of a rarity, as in times past.

Service in the Army has thus become, almost for the first time in the history of the country, a national affair, and without the application of any conscriptive force. Lord Kitchener from the first made it clear that the new force was to be raised without any idea of imposing militarism on this country. He gave his promise that every man should be discharged, if he so wished, after his three years, or as soon as the war is over. This Army has been created for a great national emergency, and as soon as that emergency ceases it will cease to exist, at its full strength. If those who prophesy that the end of this war will see the abolition of armaments be right, the new force will end its brief, and one may confidently say, glorious career there and then. But if it may still be necessary for the country to keep armed, the nation will see to it that the splendid machine which Lord Kitchener is now perfecting be kept going.



## XIV. THE RALLY OF THE EMPIRE

NOTHING has been more impressive or more heartening in the present war than the instantaneous rally of every portion of the British Empire to the Imperial Government, the immediate recognition of the fact that any loss suffered by the Mother Country would of necessity be felt in her most remote dependency. The proud question of the ruler of the ancient state of Rewa, "What orders from His Majesty for me and my troops?" epitomizes, so far as the Empire is concerned, a universal desire. Within the first fortnight of the struggle, practically every Indian ruling chief had offered his entire military and financial resources for the service of Great Britain, and at the other end of the social scale—not less welcome or less striking—the Lascars on the German Hausa liners refused to work for their German employers.

### THE CANADIAN PEOPLES

In Canada the war with Germany went far to accomplish what apparently would have required centuries of peace to achieve—the unification of the British and French races in the Dominion. This new fact

found expression in the speech of Monsignor Bruchesi, the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Montreal, who, addressing 400 men of the 65th Regiment, exhorted them to honour God and the King. "England," he said, "has protected our liberties and our faith under the flag. We have found peace; and now, in appreciation of what England has done, you go as French-Canadians to do your utmost to keep the Union Jack flying."

By August 28th, 100,000 men had volunteered in Canada for active service, and of these 27,000 were at the mobilization camp at Volcartier, Quebec, or on their way there. The temper of the men may be gauged from the *Times* correspondent's story of the Moosejaw frontiersmen, who, passing their lives in the saddle, felt it was in the saddle they ought to fight. They were told they could not be enlisted because only infantry were being raised, but, not to be baulked by regulations such as these, they bought their own outfit, chartered their own railway carriages, paid their own fares, and presented themselves at Ottawa, with an intimation to the authorities that if their services were not accepted there they would

hire a cattle-ship and come to Europe on their own account.

#### DUTCH AND BRITISH

Still more striking is the unanimous support promised by South Africa; Dutch and British alike are not only combined in a common prayer for the success of the British arms, but President Kruger's grandson and General Botha's son have joined the South African Defence Force, and a Boer volunteer force has turned German raiders out of British East Africa.

Australia and New Zealand have rallied to the flag with characteristic generosity and goodwill, the former's gifts including the offer to dispatch an expeditionary force of 20,000 men to any destination the British Government might desire (the Commonwealth Government to bear the entire cost of the dispatch of the force and its maintenance), as well as the transfer of the Commonwealth Navy to our Admiralty, whilst New Zealand is sending 8,000 men, with more to follow, if required, as well as large gifts of money and material. It is impossible, in a single chapter even, to chronicle the offers of every kind pouring hourly in from almost every spot beneath the British flag, not the least moving being that of a dusky African tribe, "to throw stones at the enemy!"

It is beyond contradiction that never in her long history has Great Britain entered on a war with the unanimity which characterizes the present conflict. In the last great

European War in which this country was engaged, Pitt had not behind him a united nation during the first years of the contest; it was the Court, the nobility and gentry, the clergy, the manufacturers and merchants, who drove England and France into collision; the masses of the people, so far as they understood the situation, had too much sympathy with the spirit, if not the methods, of the Republicans, to share the violent Anti-Jacobinism of their "betters." It was not until Napoleon threatened to invade England at the head of the conquerors of Belgium and Italy that the population became as one man in defence of the soil, and even then it was not possible, owing to the obstinacy and stupidity of the King, to unite in the public service on honourable terms all the eminent talents of the kingdom. The first of the two great wars with Revolutionary France lasted, it will be remembered, nine years—1793 to 1802; the second twelve—from 1803 to 1815. Why it is of vital importance to recall the wars with France between 1740 and 1783 (three in all) at the present moment is because this struggle with France was the first in which the Empire fought as a whole, "the Colonies and settlements," to quote Seeley, "outside Europe being not merely dragged in the wake of the mother-country, but actually taking the lead."

HOW GREATER BRITAIN CAME  
Before emphasizing the causes

which have made the British Empire a governing and fighting unit, it will be well to glance at the varied means by which the various portions became ours. The British Empire comprises 11,429,078 square miles (towards which gigantic total the United Kingdom contributes 121,633 square miles), or, roughly, one quarter of the land surface of the earth. It has a population of 424,775,160, and a revenue of £424,433,534. Some sections of the Empire, such, for example, as India, Nigeria, British East Africa, and Rhodesia, became ours by conquest and treaty, or conquest and cession; other sections, such as Jamaica and Prince Edward Island, by conquest alone. Gibraltar, St. Vincent, Ceylon, Trinidad, Malta, British Guiana, Seychelles, and the Cape of Good Hope, were acquired by capitulation; New Brunswick, Labuan, Lagos and Fiji by cession. Settlement is responsible for our possession of Australia and New South Wales, of Tasmania, New Zealand, Sierra Leone, Natal, British Columbia, and Vancouver Island, whilst annexation secured Basutoland, Zululand, the Orange Free State, and the Transvaal and Swaziland. The Dominion of Canada is the result partly of settlement, partly of conquest, partly of cession, and partly of purchase. Nor do the instrumentalities already enumerated exhaust the methods of creating an empire. In Papua, Bechuanaland, Sarawak, Burma, Zanzibar, Uganda, Nyassaland, Tonga and Niue, Protectorates were declared;

"military occupation" is responsible for Ashanti and the islands of Ascension and Tristan da Cunha; Wei-hai wei we lease from China; our share in the administration of the former Sudan provinces of Egypt we claim "by right of conquest."

#### THE SECRET OF UNITY

A general idea will now have been gained not merely of the extent of the British Empire, but of the diverse means by which it has grown to its present size and strength. But what is it that gives this Empire unity? What is it that holds these communities together and makes these distant states a United States? So far as the Colonies are concerned the answer undoubtedly must be, common nationality, common religion and common interests, and, so far as the non-English speaking peoples are concerned, our system of government. As Seeley pointed out years ago in his "Expansion of England," wherever the British go they take the English State with them. It would have been quite possible for emigrants to have poured from the United Kingdom to Canada and Australia without making a Greater Britain; Greater Britain is not simply an enlargement of English nationality, but of the English State; "it carries across the seas not merely the English race, but the authority of the English Government." In other words it is not a congeries of nations, but is in the main one nation, the colonial part of it being the normal extension



of the race into other lands. India is rallying to Great Britain at this crisis because our Government, criticize the administration as you will, is better than any which has existed in India since the Mussulman conquest. Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, for many years "M.P. for India," emphasized this fact in a striking letter to *The Times* of August 10th, 1914. Writing as one who all his life has been "more of a critic than a simple praiser of the British rule of India," and who has not hesitated "to say some hard things at times," Mr. Naoroji said he could therefore speak "with the most perfect candour and sincerity as to what the British character is, what the civilization of the world owes to the British genius, and what we Indians owe to the British people for benefits past as well as benefits to come. Yes; I have not the least doubt in my mind that every individual of the vast mass of humanity of India will have but one desire in his heart—viz., to support to the best of his ability and power the British people in their glorious struggle for justice, liberty, honour, and true human greatness and happiness."

#### OUR GREATEST DOMINION

"The Princes and people of India have already made spontaneous offers, and until the victorious end of this great struggle no other thought than that of supporting whole-heartedly the British nation should ever enter the mind of India."

How nobly Mr. Naoroji's confidence is justified is shown by the fact that Mr. B. J. Tilak (for twenty years the leader of the extreme Nationalists in India who was imprisoned in 1908 for six years for certain articles which he had written in the vernacular in one of his two weekly newspapers), in spite of his long imprisonment, has, with rare magnanimity bidden his countrymen do all in their power to help the Empire. Seven hundred princes and chiefs of India have offered to the King Emperor their treasuries, their troops, their lives. The peoples of British India have been no less lavish. "From the grim Khyber, from far Baluchistan, from the mountain heights of Chitral, promises of assistance and appeals for enrolment have been pressed on the Government." Even the Dalai Lama, remembering the shelter given him in his days of adversity, offers a force of 1,000 Tibetans, and is praying for the success of British arms. Had India cared to do so she might have caused the Empire deadly embarrassment at the present crisis in its history. She has, however, chosen to forget the discontents of the past, and the chivalry of her spirit will be treasured for generations.

#### THE POTENCY OF SELF-GOVERNMENT

For the rest, the many States so widely different in character, which combined make what we designate the British Empire, are held together

under the supreme headship of the Crown on a generally acknowledged triple principle of self-government, self-support and self-defence. That principle is the structural basis upon which the constitution of the Empire rests, though naturally it is more fully applied in some parts of the Empire than in others. Some parts are not yet ready for it; in others for special reasons the principle is temporarily in abeyance; there are others again, chiefly those of very small extent, to which it is not applicable. Self-government is the constitutional theory of the British Empire recognised wherever possible, and, as the recent history of South Africa proves, granted as soon as possible. That explains why the Boers are now by our side fighting against Germany. General Hertzog, one of the most stubborn of our opponents in the Boer War, has made the memorable declaration that Dutch-speaking South Africans, whatever their political opinions, rejoice "that the Empire to which we belong has

drawn the sword for justice and liberty." This drives home the fact that the Germans are opposed in this struggle not by the United Kingdom, but by the United Empire, not only by those of our flesh and blood in Canada, Australia and New Zealand, but also by those who having experienced our rule believe it to be just and wise and do not desire it should be either lessened or changed.

### AS A FIGHTING UNIT

As a fighting unit what then does the Empire represent? Let us take Canada first. The Canadian land forces are divided into the "Active Militia," and the "Reserve Militia." The former is raised by voluntary three-year enlistments, but it can also be compulsorily recruited, should the necessity arise, by ballot. It consists of a "Permanent Force" and a "Non-Permanent Force." For 1913-14 the Active Militia is as follows:—

Arms and Branches of the Service.	Permanent Force.		Active Militia.	
	Personnel.	Horses.	Personnel.	Horses.
Cavalry and Mounted Rifles - - -	372	265	12,271	10,708
Horse and Field Artillery - - -	289	267	4,218	2,859
Heavy and Garrison Artillery - - -	793	62	2,251	478
Engineers - - - - -	306	7	1,888	444
Infantry - - - - -	1,044	12	48,634	674
Non-Combatant Corps - - -	716	86	4,638	2,568
<b>TOTAL - - - - -</b>	<b>3,520</b>	<b>699</b>	<b>73,900</b>	<b>17,371</b>

In addition to the Active Militia numerous cadet and rifle associations are in existence. The Reserve Militia comprises all male inhabitants who are British subjects between 18 and 60 years of age and not exempt or disqualified by law. It is divided into four classes which (except in the case of a *levée en masse*) would be called out in succession—first, unmarried men and widowers (without children) between 18 and 30; secondly, unmarried men and widowers (without children) between 30 and 45; thirdly, married men and widowers (with children) between 18 and 45; fourthly, all men between 45 and 60.

#### THE AUSTRALIAN CITIZEN

The Australian Commonwealth is divided for military purposes into districts whose boundaries are nearly identical with those of the States. The total number of citizen soldiers on June 30th, 1913, was 31,281, of rifle clubs 49,564, of senior cadets 88,708, of permanent forces 2,662, of Reserve officers and unattached list, 1,409, giving a total of 173,967. The year 1911 saw the commencement of the new defence scheme adopted by the Australian Government on the basis of Lord Kitchener's recommendations. The Defence Act of 1903, amended by the Acts of 1909, 1910, 1911 and 1912, imposes a system of compulsory training, beginning with cadets of twelve to eighteen years of age (junior and senior) followed by a year in the Citizen Forces as recruits, after which the men remain

as soldiers for seven years. Liability ceases with the completion of the twenty-sixth year, but the men are expected to join the existing Rifle Clubs and keep up their shooting. It is estimated that the total number of men under training when the system is in full operation, will be 150,000 cadets, and 120,000 citizen soldiers.

New Zealand passed a Defence Act in 1909, amended in 1910, which provides for the gradual military training of every male New Zealander from the age of twelve to twenty-five, after which he serves in the Reserve up to the age of thirty. The Territorial Force is about 30,000 strong, and is organized in field and coast-defence units with practically the same establishment for peace as for war. The force is being fully armed and equipped according to the most modern standard.

The Union of South Africa passed a law in 1912 rendering all citizens liable to compulsory service. At the present time it is not possible to state definitely the strength and distribution of the forces "as those are growing daily." The Permanent Force—South Africa Mounted Riflemen—was established on April 1st, 1913.

#### THE INDIAN ARMY

The military forces in India consist in the first place of the British troops and of the Native Army; there are also the Volunteers and the Imperial Service troops. The total establishment of the British troops is 75,897 of all ranks. The Native Army comprises 40 cavalry regiments, 12



mountain batteries, 3 regiments (19 companies) of sappers and miners, and 140 battalions of infantry, besides departmental services. The establishment is 2,751 officers, and 161,085 other ranks. There are 35,700 reservists. The Volunteers consist practically of Europeans and Eurasians, the latter predominating. The establishment is (1913-14) 1,524 officers, 37,382 other ranks, besides 3,093 reservists all ranks. The Imperial Service troops are raised and maintained by Native States and trained under the supervision of British officers. They number all told about 20,000, and consist of all arms of the service, but they provide a specially strong force of cavalry, about 6,600 all told. The two largest contingents of Imperial Service troops are provided by the States of Gwalior and Kashmir.

Already two divisions and a cavalry division have been brought from India to join our forces at the front, and three more cavalry brigades will follow at once. In all 70,000 men. These divisions include large numbers of the Sikhs and the Goorkhas. The Sikhs are principally drawn from the Arora, Jat and Ramgarhia tribes, but anyone may become a Sikh by accepting the Sikh baptism. The Sikh is a first-class fighting man, and the army is his natural profession. Hardy, brave, obedient to discipline, attached to his officers, he makes the finest soldier of the East. In victory he retains his steadiness and in defeat he will die at his post rather than

yield. There are some 30,000 Sikhs in the Indian Army, and the sect is cherished by the military authorities who insist on all recruits taking the *pahul*, or Sikh baptism. The Goorkhas, Ghoorkas, or Gurkhas, are the dominant race in Nepal and claim descent from the rajas of Chitor in Rajputana. Short and thick-set, the men are brave and faithful soldiers and terrible fighters. They lent valuable aid to the British in suppressing the Indian Mutiny, and have never failed in loyalty.

#### FROM PEACE TO WAR

We have given the military peace strength of the Dominions because it is difficult at the present moment to estimate their total contribution in men and material to the war, both being constantly increased. For example, Canada's first Expeditionary Force, as already indicated, consisted of 20,000 men, but she is prepared, if necessary, to send us seven times that number. Her gifts of flour for our people and fodder for our horses are on an equally lavish scale. The warships she already possesses, or can purchase, are at the full disposal of our Admiralty. Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, Newfoundland, Rhodesia, each according to its capacity has given "full measure, pressed down, running over." The Union of South Africa is providing for her own defence, thus releasing Imperial troops for service elsewhere.

Liberals have always tenaciously held and unweariedly contended that

the loosely-knit system which binds our colonies together, based, as we have pointed out on the enlargement of the English State, would stand the severest test. The test has come, a test as swift and severe as any the imagination could conceive, and that faith has been justified beyond the utmost expectation, as the Prime Minister in his great oration at the Guildhall on September 4th, thankfully acknowledged :

"Our self-governing Dominions throughout the Empire, without any solicitation on our part, demonstrated with a spontaneousness and unanimity unparalleled in history their determination to affirm their brotherhood with us and to make our cause their own.

"Canada and Australia, South Africa, New Zealand, and Newfoundland, children of the Empire, assert, not as an obligation, but as a privilege, their right and their willingness to contribute money and material, and, what is better than all, the strength and sinews, the fortunes and lives of their best men.

'India—with no less alacrity—has claimed her share in the common task.

Every class and creed, British and native, princes and people, Hindoos and Mohammedans, vie with one another in a noble and emulous rivalry.

"We welcome with appreciation and affection their proffered aid, and in an Empire which knows no distinction of race or caste, where all alike, as subjects of the King-Emperor, are joint and equal custodians of our common interests and fortunes, we here hail with profound and heartfelt gratitude their association, side by side and shoulder to shoulder with our Home and Dominion troops, under the flag which is the symbol to all of the unity that the world in arms cannot dis sever or dissolve."

It may be claimed without exaggeration that history does not record a rally so universal and so spontaneous as has been, and is being, witnessed throughout the realms of Great Britain. On September 10th his Majesty the King acknowledged in inspiring Messages to the Governments and peoples of his Self-Governing Dominions and to the Princes and peoples of his Indian Empire his own and the Nation's gratitude.

## XV. THE NEW WONDERS OF WARFARE

THE most remarkable feature of the opening stages of the war was the extraordinary rapidity of the German advance. They came on through Belgium, into the valley of the Somme, and then turned into the Marne country with almost incredible speed. The most rapid marches in history have been outdone, and outdone, not merely by swiftly moving bodies of selected troops, but by an organized army complete in every detail.

The motor-car, and the motor vehicle of every description, are a great factor in modern war. Our own Expeditionary Force and the French have used it very well, but the Germans have profited by it more. Motor cars have carried their staff officers over the whole field of operations. Motor lorries bringing up stores, guns and ammunition have been on every road. Special motor vehicles, mounting guns and quick-firers, have pushed almost into the very firing line. Motor tractors have hauled the big guns that smashed the forts at Liège and Namur, and the pontoons that have bridged the rivers. Motor cyclists have been everywhere, and, besides gathering and carrying intelligence, they have

often pushed up to aid an attack or helped to cover a retirement. Specially built motors have carried aeroplanes to the front, and mechanically propelled field kitchens have supplied the German troopers with the *dicke Suppe*, the *Würste*, the *Kalbfleisch* and the *Munchener* that they love.

### SPEEDING FORWARD

Thus the mechanically-propelled vehicle has become a most important factor in modern war. It enables great armies to move with undreamed-of rapidity, and makes them, to a large extent, independent of railroads. The German troops have been brought on in motor buses, lorries, vans and other vehicles to dépôts on the road, where other vehicles have carried them forward to the next dépôt, and so on. Thus the motors have run to and fro between particular points, and the whole service was most capably organized. The motor provides picked bodies of troops with the means of occupying important positions with heavy gun fire, and of overwhelming bodies of the enemy with a withering storm of shrapnel. By its agency, high-angle guns are mounted in swiftly moving cars to



deal with Zeppelins and aeroplanes. We can, indeed, hardly exaggerate the importance of motor propulsion in modern war.

Almost equally important is the advent of the airship and the aeroplane, the two lighter-than-air and heavier-than-air types. Some people have been led to believe that aviation would be an influence of paramount importance, and a decisive destructive factor in the modern Armageddon. The theorist looked forward to the day of air battles as synchronous with the next great European war. But those who knew anything about airships and aeroplanes did not anticipate anything of the kind. They knew that the airship might drop bombs, and possibly itself be destroyed by aeroplane attack, but they knew also that the real function of aircraft was to give distant vision to forces by sea and land, perhaps to replace scouting cruisers, and to assume part of the functions of cavalry in the field. The constructor's attention was directed to making aircraft a reliable means of transit through the air, with a view chiefly to military use, and the seaman and the soldier have equipped these aircraft with guns, explosives and wireless and other methods of signalling.

### THE ZEPPELIN AIRSHIP

Germany has placed great faith in the Zeppelin airship, which to-day is a huge rigid vessel capable of lifting a weight of ten tons. It can keep the air for a period varying

from twelve to twenty-four hours, and has a speed of forty to sixty miles per hour. Three months are required for its construction, and its cost is about £60,000. Its present state of perfection has been bought with much perseverance and no little loss of life. During the last eight years no fewer than nine of this class of craft have been totally destroyed whilst manœuvring, the last being the naval Zeppelin L2, which was destroyed with all on board in a terrible catastrophe caused by explosion at Johannisthal on September 20th, 1913.

Germany has also other classes of airships, viz. the Schütte-Lanz (rigid), the Gross (semi-rigid) and Parseval (non-rigid) types.

The French have a considerable fleet of semi-rigid and non-rigid airships (Astra, Clément-Bayard and Lebaudy). The British air-fleet is small, but highly organized and expanding rapidly. We have the great Parseval and the Astra-Torres, and Messrs. Vickers are building three of the former and one of the latter type, as well as a rigid of Zeppelin class. Messrs. Armstrong are at the same time completing three ships of the Italian Forlanini type.

Germany has not allowed her interest in dirigibles to cause her to neglect the development of the aeroplane, and the same is true of other countries. She has several hundreds of heavier-than-air machines, and her records for altitude and duration are among the best.

## THE FRENCH SKY PILOTS

France, a pioneer in the development of aircraft, has an aeroplane fleet much stronger than that of Germany, and her pilots are among the most skilful and courageous in the world. Though we have heard little of their work in the war, they are doubtless keeping the generals informed of the movements of the opposing army. In our own country, where the aeroplane squadrons of the Navy and Army are expanding rapidly, the sailor or soldier becomes an airman, and not the airman a sailor or soldier. The Army has a very efficient organization, and the Navy has taken up the work of the air with the same vigour with which it pursues the work of the sea. The naval airmen are unrivalled, and are developing a splendid type of wireless-carrying two-seater biplane. Seaplanes are probably superior to airships for naval scouting purposes. A seaplane transport vessel has just been built, and the machines can fly from on board and be housed in as boats are when they alight alongside. They resemble land aeroplanes, but have floats instead of wheels. The Navy has also a number of ordinary aeroplanes.

The offensive use of aircraft is doubtful, and is far less important than their other function. A bomb dropped from an aeroplane cannot compare in accuracy or destructiveness with the lightest shell. The airship may drop a bigger bomb—

almost a mine—but it may hit anything but the actual object intended. Vickers and Armstrong at home and Krupp and Ehrhardt in Germany have produced high-range guns for the attack on airships. These are mounted on elevated positions and in armoured motor-cars, and the larger class are being installed in all our new battleships.

## STRIKING RESULTS

The use of aircraft in the war in the work of reconnaissance and the direction of artillery fire has been abundantly justified. All observers of the important battles in France agree in attributing to the German aeroplanes the accuracy of the enemy's artillery fire. Aeroplanes are described as signalling by means of a disc suspended from below the machine to their batteries behind. Probably some of them are fitted with wireless transmitters as well. As an aeroplane cannot poise, nor even for more than a brief time reduce its speed, work of this kind is extremely difficult, and can only be successfully undertaken when the gunners and the airmen are accustomed to co-operation and know the country. Simple signals are necessary. Probably the airman and the commander of artillery have duplicate maps, divided into small squares, each numbered. It would then only be necessary to signal the number of the area in which the opposing forces were. Our own aeroplanes have gone through much practice of this kind.

British and French troops have testified to the bad marksmanship of the German riflemen, but the statements of doctors as to the wounds received go to prove that in combination with artillery the aeroplane is a deadly opponent.

In the work of distant reconnaissance aeroplanes have been equally useful, and though reports from the front give few details concerning their work, there is every reason to believe that they are proving highly valuable. The old methods of scouting were far from satisfactory, and much had to be left to guesswork and finesse. Napoleon had small opinion of them. "Nothing," he said, "could be more contradictory, nothing more bewildering, than the multitude of reports of spies or of those sent out to reconnoitre. Some locate army corps where they have only seen detachments; others see detachments where they ought to have seen army corps." There is a world of difference between the work of the old-time scout, moving slowly and warily about a small area full of difficulties, and that of the airmen soaring high above such natural obstacles as hills and trees, and taking observation of the whole field of operations in a remarkably short space of time.

### "WIRELESS!"

Wireless telegraphy is in many ways changing the face of war. From our wireless stations at the Admiralty and elsewhere we can speak to our fleets at sea, and we can speak

or will soon be able to speak, through chains of stations to our Dominions throughout the world. The French, from the Eiffel Tower, can speak to their fleet in the Mediterranean, and their possessions in Africa. The Germans—through the great wireless station at Nauen, with its seven tall, slim lattice-work towers, intended to communicate with the German wireless chain—succeeded in getting messages through to Kumina in Togoland, whence they were passed on to the station in German South-West Africa, and thence to Dar-es-Salaam in German East Africa, and other German possessions. From Nauen there is communication with the fleet, and possibly by these means instructions reach the few German cruisers which escaped into the Atlantic. In the actual working of fleets at sea, scouts immediately transmit intelligence to the flagships, and ships and vessels of all classes are directed to particular rendezvous, or to places where they may be specially required. In the action of the Heligoland Bight wireless was of conspicuous value. Wireless apparatus is even installed in submarine boats.

### HOW IT IS DONE

In the military sphere wireless is carried by apparatus in specially constructed motor vehicles, some of which have telescoping lattice masts, capable of carrying the transmitter and receiver to a considerable elevation. It may be associated with the extended use of the field telephone,



which is practically a new adjunct in war, and is controlled and managed by special telegraph and telephone troops. Lines are laid with great rapidity, and it is chiefly by means of the telephone that the commanding general directs the movements of his troops. The efficient use of the telephone is a subject of study by all army staffs. The field telegraph and telephone have been developed into a combined instrument about the size of a large field-glass and weighing four and a half pounds. An insulated wire weighing seventy-five pounds to the mile can be used on the ground, and laid from a reel on a motor at ten miles an hour, or can be carried on horseback, or a man on foot having a reel strapped to his belt can creep right up to the firing line, where he can establish a station merely by thrusting a steel rod into the ground. The commander can maintain communication with each unit of his force at all times, for these lines can be laid as fast as troops can advance.

Among modern war equipments the new field kitchens deserve mention. There are several types of them. A Russian automobile field kitchen consists of a motor truck carrying the stock of provisions and a trailer containing the kitchen, designed to prepare food and coffee for 250 men at one time, or 2,000 men in twenty-four hours. The equipment includes a twenty-gallon coffee-pot and a kettle, of a capacity of fifty-three gallons, jacketed with glycerine, which re-

tains the heat so that the contents continue to cook after the fire is out, and keep hot for six or eight hours on the well-known fireless cooker principle. Food and coffee are transferred to fireless cookers to be taken to the men in the field.

### THE DEADLY MINE

The mine, floating or anchored and breaking from its moorings, has come into disagreeable prominence in the war at sea, though no one was surprised by its extended use. It has done nothing to bring nearer the end of the war, though the "Amphion" and "Speedy" fell victims to it, as well as harmless trawlers and mercantile vessels, including some neutrals. Questions of international law are outside the scope of this chapter. The mine first showed its high destructive power in the Russo-Japanese War, when the battleship "Hatsuse" and other vessels were sunk by its agency. Since that time ingenuity has been at work to increase its potency. There are many varieties of mines used in various countries, but they have all this speciality that a ship striking one of their "whiskers," or setting them violently oscillating, or giving them a rotary motion which unscrews their safety locks, is exposed to the detonation of a mass of explosive which, probably in the majority of cases, premises destruction.

Many other modern appliances of war might be mentioned, but they

are mostly extensions, improvements and adaptations of existing equipments. There are guns and shells of enormous power, such as those which rendered useless the famous defences of Namur. There are improved kinds of fire-shells which illuminate areas for the guidance of the fire of guns and the operations of airships. At sea there are new

methods of propulsion, and enhanced means of directing and controlling fire, as well as advances in the design of submarines, and in increasing the power and accuracy of the torpedo. But enough has been said to show that science and the products of applied science have changed the character of war and increased its deadliness, both afloat and ashore.

## XVI. THE LAW AND CUSTOMS OF WAR

THOUGH one often hears the term "International Law," especially in time of war, no such thing exists. The essence of positive law is its sanction or binding force. If there is no power of enforcing a penalty upon an offender the word "law" is a misnomer.

There is, however, an international conscience or morality which in the end always triumphs, and it is this purely ethical influence which has brought into existence during the passage of centuries, well-defined limitations in the conduct of warfare. One of the earliest manifestations of the need of imposing rules upon belligerents related to sea-fighting; the *Consolato del Mare*, endorsed by the chief maritime nations towards the end of the eleventh century, supplied a rough-and-ready rule regarding the capture of ships in war-time. It was, in fact, the basis of the present rules of contraband.

But the term "contraband" was not used to denote a prohibited neutral trade with a belligerent until the Treaty of Southampton, 1625, between England and Holland, by which all "provisions, munitions de bouche, armes, etc.," carried to Spain would be "good prize."

### WHEN MIGHT WAS RIGHT

Even as late as this, however, war in Europe meant barbarism. In that same year Grotius, the great jurist, contended that in war one could kill everybody and seize everything in an enemy's country. During the last two and a half centuries the international conscience has been awakening.

In the Napoleonic wars, however, neutral countries were often exasperated by our seizure of their vessels and the pre-emption of their cargoes of food and raw material. In this work, privateers, commissioned with letters of marque, had an important share, and it is of interest to note, now that the German flag has practically vanished from the high seas, that a similar achievement had been performed by the year 1800 with regard to our then foe.\*

On the outbreak of the Crimean War in 1854 Britain waived the right

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\* Proclamation du Directoire Exécutif de France, Janvier, 1799:—"Dans le dernier état publié par les gazettes du Nord du nombre des vaisseaux qui ont passé le Sund, depuis un an, on ne trouve pas un seul navire français."



of commissioning privateers and seizing enemy's goods in neutral vessels except contraband. Two years later Europe agreed to the abolition of these practices by the Declaration of Paris.

### A GREAT REFORM

In 1864 the Geneva Convention brought about a great reform in the succour of wounded in war, setting up the neutral Red Cross Society. In 1868 a St. Petersburg Convention forbade the use of explosive bullets, and after several minor conferences the great Hague Conference of 1899 was called to discuss universal disarmament and the policy of arbitration on all matters.

That ideal proved, at the moment, too Utopian, but the next Hague Conference in 1907 supplied the world with a code of rules of war which is now supposed to govern the actions of the present belligerents, all being contracting parties.

It laid down that a belligerent party which violates their provisions shall be liable to pay compensation. It will be shown that Germany has already made herself liable for a heavy bill of costs.

Out of this Hague Conference arose the Naval Conference of 1909, the product of which was the Declaration of London, a code of rules governing the rights of belligerent and neutral at sea during war time. This has now been ratified by the King, and its formal adoption by Britain with certain modifications means its universal

application in the unhappy event of any future war.

The first (1907) Hague Convention provides:

"In case of serious disagreement or dispute, before an appeal to arms, the Contracting Powers agree to have recourse, as far as circumstances allow, to the good offices or mediation of one or more friendly powers."

History will show how Sir Edward Grey, who during the Balkan War had earned for himself a Continental reputation as a peacekeeper, in vain tried to persuade Germany to come to an international conference in July, 1914, before setting her armed forces in motion against France and Russia. Germany refused to take part in any conversations.

### THE BROKEN WORD

This, then, was the first breach of Germany's pledged word. She had also agreed, in common with the other Powers, not to commence hostilities "without previous and explicit warning in the form either of a reasoned declaration of war or of an ultimatum with conditional declaration of war." Germany complied with these rules with regard to Russia, but merely asked France to say within eighteen hours if in case of war with Russia France would remain neutral. This was the only notice the French got, but practically it carried out the spirit of the Hague Convention, and it would be pedantic to condemn Germany for these merely technical infractions.

In fact, formal declarations of war prior to the opening of hostilities have become rather the exception than the rule, owing to the necessity of rapid action and veiling military movements from the eyes and ears of wire and wireless. In eighty years of the nineteenth century sixty wars were begun without any declaration.

Convention No. 4 comprises interesting rules for which the Germans at the outset of their campaign displayed for the most part absolute contempt. They place in the same category as regular combatants—*i.e.* uniformed soldiers or sailors—irregular fighters commanded by a responsible commander, wearing a fixed emblem recognisable at a distance, carrying arms openly, and operating in accordance with the laws and customs of war.

#### PROPERLY TREATED

Thus we treated our present friends the Boers, though they wore no emblem and carried on a guerilla warfare in small parties. If captured, they were treated as prisoners of war, and not shot on sight or hanged, as we have melancholy reason to believe the Germans would do if harassed by such an enemy. Judging from their treatment of civilians in Belgium and France, who had not taken up arms, it would have been just as well if these had formed themselves into irregular armed bands for defence of hearth and home.

The Convention attempts to set out rules concerning prisoners of war in

accordance with the more polite usages of the last two or three centuries. Torture and death used to be their fate in olden days, or terrible indignities and privations were practised upon prisoners taken in battle.

They may be imprisoned, but not compelled to do any work concerning the operation of war (Article VI., Convention 4). Thus the action of German troops in forcing Belgian peasants to dig trenches for them is a glaring breach of international usage. Others have been taken into Germany to assist in the harvest; this is permissible, provided the prisoners are paid for their labour. The ordinary practice with regard to parole and escape is followed.

An inquiry office for prisoners of war must be instituted on the commencement of hostilities, and in the case of Britain this has been set up under the name of the Prisoners of War Information Bureau at 49, Wellington Street, Strand, under the directorship of Sir Paul Harvey. It will be one of the principal functions of this office if the war is of long duration to make arrangements for the exchange of prisoners with Germany.

“This Office has the privilege of free postage, letters and parcels for prisoners of war being transmitted to their destination exempt from all postal duties. Similarly presents for them are free of import duties.”

Officers taken prisoners should receive the same rate of pay from their



captors as enemy officers of corresponding rank, the prisoner's Government to refund at the end of the war. Prisoners of war have the same privileges for making their wills as soldiers.

### FALLEN BY THE WAY

The obligations of belligerents with regard to the sick and wounded are governed by the Geneva Convention. Now that decreed an absolute immunity from rifle or artillery fire to Red Cross workers, but well authenticated accounts from the early battlefields in this war showed that the Germans ignored the Red Cross on many occasions.

There are also well-founded reports, unfortunately, of deliberate breaches of the law of humanity laid down in Article 23 of this Convention. It was forbidden :

(1) To kill or wound an enemy who, having laid down his arms or having no longer means of defence, had surrendered at discretion ;

(2) to declare that no quarter would be given ;

(3) to employ arms, projectiles, or material calculated to cause unnecessary suffering ;

(4) to make improper use of a flag of truce, or the national flag or the uniform of the enemy, as well as the distinctive badges of the Geneva Convention ;

(5) to destroy or seize the enemy's property, unless such destruction or seizure be imperatively demanded by the necessities of war.

Every one of these obligations has been broken by the Germans. British survivors from the fierce battles in the north of France have brought back ghastly stories of breaches of (1).

The Zeppelin attacks on Antwerp and the German aeroplane's bomb-dropping visits to Paris at the end of August were flagrantly opposed to (3). Moreover, Convention 14 prohibited "the discharge of projectiles and explosives from balloons or by other new methods of a similar nature." Breaches of (4) were systematic. (5) Think of the vandalism at Louvain and Malines. By Article 25 the attack or bombardment of undefended buildings and towns were forbidden, and Article 56 gave immunity to religious and charitable institutions and historical monuments.

### LEVYING CONTRIBUTIONS

Articles 48 and 49 provide that if an enemy take over the administration of occupied territory he may only levy special money contributions (apart from ordinary rates and taxes) for the needs of the army or for administration of the territory. Thus the £8,000,000 levy imposed by the German conquerors upon Brussels was quite an unjustifiable claim. If the Belgian capital had offered any resistance a fine or indemnity might have been fairly demanded, but it was left a *ville ouverte* for the Prussians to occupy.

Up to September 8th the Germans had imposed unjustifiable levies upon Belgian and French districts of



£20,000,000, including a tax of £40,000 and 100,000 cigars upon Amiens.

Article 30 provides that "no general penalty, pecuniary or otherwise, shall be inflicted upon the population on account of the acts of individuals for which they cannot be regarded as jointly or severally responsible."

Yet at the Belgian town of Aerschott one man in three was butchered because the sixteen-year-old son of the mayor, in a fit of madness, shot a German colonel dead.

Convention No. 5 decrees that "the territory of neutral powers" is inviolable, and that "belligerents are forbidden to move troops or convoys of either munitions of war or supplies" across such territory. Germany agreed to this, just as Prussia in 1831 became one of the guarantors of the neutrality of Belgium.

It is true that Germany went through the empty formality of asking Belgium's permission for a free passage for her troops; but if Belgium had complied France would have had a *casus belli* against her. In the war of 1870 Prussia respected Belgium's neutrality and acquiesced in her objection to the transportation of Prussian wounded through Belgian territory. A leading authority on international "law" has stated: "If the respect due to our neutral territory was violated by one party, it would soon provoke similar treatment from the other, with the result that what was neutral would soon

become the theatre of war." So Belgium resisted, nobly and righteously.

### MERCHANT SHIPS

Conventions No. 6 and 7 relate to the important subject of the status of enemy merchant ships at the outbreak of hostilities. With regard to the provision giving such vessels time to leave enemy ports, such an arrangement was proposed by Sir Edward Grey to Germany on the outbreak of war. The proposal was ignored, however, and as British ships were immediately seized in German ports, we did the same with German ships in our ports. In the case of Austria, however, the time of grace was mutual.

At The Hague Conference and the later Naval Conference in London, the British Government made vain endeavours to secure the prohibition of the conversion of merchantmen into warships on the high seas, Germany and Russia being the chief objectors. All we could secure was that such vessels must be manned and controlled by naval men, and "a belligerent who converts a merchant ship into a warship must, as soon as possible, announce such conversion in the list of warships."

Even the spirit of this agreement has been departed from by Germany. The Norddeutscher Lloyd liner "Kaiser Wilhelm der Grosse," which was sunk off West Africa by H.M.S. "Highflyer" on August 26th, was probably converted on the high seas without

an intimation being made by Germany through the proper channels that she had become a warship. Thus the vessel could have cruised about from neutral port to port flying the merchant flag until she saw a chance of hoisting the naval flag, unmasking her guns, and pouncing on unsuspecting enemy ships. In fact, this vessel did much damage to British shipping before she met a well-merited fate.

### MINES IN THE SEA

One of the most flagrant offences against humanity committed by Germany has been her persistent laying of uncontrolled mines across the North Sea, threatening the lives of those on board any neutral vessels which may chance to pass. Convention No. 8 unequivocally forbids such a practice, and the use of automatic contact mines anchored off the coast is only permitted subject to strict surveillance.

The Declaration of London, which Britain, France and Russia have announced their intention of observing, with some modifications proclaimed on August 22nd, 1914, was signed on February 26th, 1909, by the representatives of the Great Powers. It deals *inter alia* with the following incidents of sea warfare: Blockade, contraband, un-neutral service, destruction of neutral prizes, transfer to neutral flag, convoy, resistance to search.

For the first time an attempt is made to define contraband. There

is a free list of goods which, when carried in neutral bottoms, may not be interfered with by a belligerent, whatever its destination, such as raw textile material, rubber, and household furniture.

*Absolute* contraband includes everything used for warfare, with the addition of air-craft and their accessories.

*Conditional* contraband takes in foodstuffs, clothing, specie, vehicles, boats, etc.

One important modification by Order in Council applies the doctrine of continuous voyage to *conditional* as well as *absolute* contraband. Thus, if a neutral vessel took a cargo of food to Rotterdam, a neutral port, the ultimate destination being the German Army, the cargo would be liable to capture by a British or French warship.

### THE HUNGRY CIVILIAN

But the Declaration raises the presumption that foodstuffs intended for the *civil population* of a belligerent cannot be treated as contraband. In the case quoted, the cargo might ostensibly be consigned to a private firm in Germany, so that it would be in the discretion of the naval officer to let the ship go or make her a prisoner and let the Prize Court adjudicate on the right or wrong of his action.

Thus it is clear that the Declaration chiefly operates as a standard of law in the disputes as to condemnation or compensation arising in the Prize Courts rather than as a restriction



upon the activities of the Navy in war.

The Prize Court—the first to be established in this country since the Crimea War—opened its proceedings in the Admiralty division on September 4th, the President, Sir S. Evans, presiding. Up to that date over 200 ships, which, cargoes included, were valued at £2,500,000, had been taken into the custody of the Admiralty Marshal. Most of these were enemy ships, which would be condemned without further ado.

Sir John Simon, the Attorney-General, appeared for the Crown, and in the first case taken, the enemy barge *Chile*, seized at Cardiff, was condemned by the President.

One striking innovation in this connection is the abolition of Prize Money. England has entered into her first great naval war since ironclads took the place of wooden line-of-battle ships, and thus the Government have found it necessary to decree the abolition of a time-honoured custom which during the Napoleonic Wars a hundred years ago was at its height.

#### A BONUS INSTEAD

The custom by which the naval officers and bluejackets of the captor warships used to be rewarded with a certain proportion of the value of the captured vessel, and of her cargo if liable to confiscation, is now abrogated. In the words of Mr. Churchill "it is not proposed to continue the system by which selected individuals among those in the naval

services of the Crown are privately enriched by discharging the public duties that they perform." The Government, however, have decided to distribute out of the spoils of war a bounty all round to the Navy.

When a ship is forfeit, the produce of the sale or grant will be lodged in the hands of the Accountant-General of the Navy, as in the past. It used to be his duty to divide the prize money rateably among the captors. A flag officer would be awarded one-thirtieth of the whole, his commanding officer one-tenth of the rest, and the remainder would be divided among the other officers, twenty to forty-five shares each, according to ranks, and the crew, an able-bodied seaman taking four shares.

Many fine prizes fell to the lot of English Jack Tars in the old days. In 1779 Plymouth turned out to see a procession of sixty-three waggons, each loaded with Spanish dollars, the total being four and a half millions. That was only a portion of the spoils from two captures, by which four English captains netted £50,000 each in prize money, and each man before the mast about £200. In nine years Sir W. Parker, Captain of the *Amazon*, captured sixty vessels, his share of the prize money being £35,000. In the case of the *Lima* treasure ship in 1761, the officers concerned each received several thousands sterling in prize money, but every man in the two frigates which captured her was awarded nearly £500.

If Convention No. 12 of The Hague



Conference had been carried into effect by Britain and the other signatory Powers, there would now be in existence an International Prize Court of Appeal, the supreme tribunal sitting at The Hague. The judges would number fifteen at a full Bench.

Those appointed by the chief Naval Powers would form a permanent majority, while the judges appointed by inferior Powers, such as Hayti or

Argentina, would sit only in rotation, their functions extending over periods approximately proportionate to the importance of their maritime interests.

The rejection of the Naval Prize Bill by the House of Lords in 1911 prevented Britain from taking the initiative in the creation of such a Court, to which parties dissatisfied with the decisions of the Prize Courts of belligerents could appeal.

## XVII. THE RED CROSS AND MODERN NURSING

IN the history of the relief and treatment of the wounded in war, two names stand out like stars; they are those of Florence Nightingale and Henri Dunant. The one created the modern nurse, and taught the world how to treat its sick soldiers; the other founded the Red Cross movement, was the real father both of the Geneva Convention—an international agreement for the purpose of safeguarding wounded soldiers—and of the ambulance service of to-day.

The immortal tribute of the world to the labours of Henri Dunant is that the flag adopted and the symbol worn to mark the tending of the wounded is the Red Cross on a white ground, the colours of the Swiss flag—Dunant was born in Geneva in 1828—reversed. Until Florence Nightingale arose the treatment of the wounded in war had been unorganized and inefficient. Here and there warm-hearted and capable individuals of the various nations bravely endeavoured to cope with the problem, notable among them being Paré, a French barber-surgeon (1517–1590), who advocated the formation of field hospitals, and made amputation on a large scale practi-

able by his use of ligatures along the course of large arteries; Fabry of Hilden, near Düsseldorf (1560–1634), who introduced the first form of Tourniquet; Richard Wiseman (1620–1676), who has been called the Father of English surgery, and who is certainly entitled to be called the Father of military surgery; Baron Larrey, a companion of Napoleon, who organized “flying ambulances,” in the Italian campaigns of 1797; Baron Percy, Chief Surgeon of the “Grande Armée,” who introduced stretcher-bearers; Abraham Gehema, a Polish nobleman, whose book, “*Der Kranke Soldat*”—“The Sick Soldier,” may be said to have originated the modern army doctor; Goercke, the pre-eminent name in military medical history in the wars against Napoleon, and Brambilla, who became P.M.O. of the Austrian Army in 1778, and who laid down those general principles of hospital organization for the wounded which are still followed to-day.

Brambilla divided the hospitals into three classes:

1. Local hospitals for slight cases and for the housing of the seriously wounded.

2. Flying hospitals to be opened or erected as near as possible to the army; and
3. Main hospitals for cases requiring major operations and long treatment.

#### AN ORDER OF MERIT

Mr. M. Mostyn Bird in his extremely interesting book, "The Errand of Mercy," a history of ambulance work on the battlefield, awards to the French the honour for the first attempts at transport organization; to the Germans the credit for the serious recognition of the importance of training and organizing medical officers; to the Austrians the praise for the classifying and arranging of field and base hospitals; whilst to Great Britain is due the nursing service, and to the United States organized civilian aid.

As we have already stated, the first attempt to mitigate the sufferings of wounded soldiers was the Geneva Convention of 1864, replaced by the Geneva Convention of 1906, the chief promoter of the former being Henri Dunant. Dunant, who had been greatly influenced by the lives and characters of Harriet Beecher-Stowe, Florence Nightingale, and Elizabeth Fry, happened to be travelling through Italy as a tourist when the war of 1859 was in progress, a war in which Napoleon undertook to free Italy from "the Alps to the Adriatic." Dunant witnessed the horrible carnage of Magenta, which left 10,000 Austrians and 4,000 French

and Piedmontese dead and wounded, and the yet more frightful horrors of Solferino, which lasted fifteen hours and left as victims 38,000 dead and dying.

The result of these experiences was a powerful pamphlet entitled "Le Souvenir de Solferino," having for its object the founding and organizing "in all civilized countries permanent societies of volunteers, which in time of war would render succour to the wounded *without distinction of nationality*." He advocated volunteers, drilled and instructed in the handling of stretchers, permanently organized, and enjoying the privileges of absolute neutrality, and he believed such a desirable result might be easily obtained if the Governments would but agree at a special conference to adopt some mutual sign of recognition. In 1859 each nation possessed a flag of its own, by which to distinguish its field hospitals; but this was not generally recognized by the enemy, who frequently carried off the wounded and cut down the medical staff. Dunant unweariedly fought for his ideas, which were energetically taken up by M. Gustave Moynier, whose agitation led to an unofficial congress being held in Geneva in October, 1863. This was followed by an official congress called by the Swiss Government in 1864, when the Convention then signed—August 22nd, 1864—on behalf of the States represented, afterwards received the adherence of every civilized power.



## BROUGHT UP TO DATE

In 1906 a revised Convention was agreed to by thirty-five States, only Turkey, Salvador, Bolivia, Venezuela, Nicaragua and Colombia abstaining; it consisted of thirty-three articles divided into nine sections, of which section No. 1 deals with the wounded and sick, and section No. 2 with medical units and establishments. In 1899 the Hague Conference produced a Convention for the adaption to Naval War of the principles of the Geneva Convention of 1864. An amended form of these was voted by the Hague Conference of 1907, and embodied in a new Convention. The original Convention of 1864 consisted of ten articles, which guaranteed the neutrality of military ambulances and hospitals as well as of their staff. Article V. declared that "the inhabitants of the country who assist in the care of the wounded shall be respected and remain free"; "any wounded men received into a house shall be considered a safeguard of the house and its inmates. Any inhabitant who accommodates wounded shall be exempt from the billeting of troops as well as from any imposts that may be levied." Article VI. declares that sick or wounded soldiers shall be received without respect to their nationality. Article VII. refers to the now famous Red Cross flag and badge:

"A distinctive and uniform flag shall be adopted for the hospitals and ambulances. It should in all cases

be accompanied by the national flag. An arm badge shall be worn by the members of the hospital and ambulance staff. Both flag and badge shall bear a red cross on a white ground."

## STRENGTHENING THE SERVICE

The Convention of 1906 comprises too much technical detail for reproduction in these pages. It has, however, affected certain of the principles above rehearsed. In it the Red Cross Societies, or societies for the succour of the wounded, are now mentioned, taking their place alongside the medical, called in the Convention the sanitary, service of the armies to which they are attached. Both, of course, are still to bear the distinctive flag and arm-badge of the Convention and to carry the national flag of the belligerent. By the new Article XVI. the material belongings of the societies are "considered as private property, and as such are respected in all circumstances, saving the belligerents' right of requisitioning acknowledged by the laws and customs of war." The term "neutrality" entirely disappears; the medical service, including that of the Societies, is to be "protected and respected by the belligerents." In place of the old Article V. we have the following, which does not go so far:

"The military authority may appeal to the charitable zeal of the inhabitants to receive the wounded and sick of the armies and take care of them under its control, granting

a special protection and certain immunities to the persons who shall have responded to that appeal."

Finally it was decided not to allow any alternative to the adopted red cross design, the true significance of which, in order to obviate any friction with the religious sentiments of non-Christian states, was thus explained :

Art. 18.—"As a homage to Switzerland, the heraldic sign of a red cross on a white ground formed by the interchange of the federal colour is maintained as the emblem and distinctive sign of the medical [sanitary] service of armies."

As Turkey, Persia and Russia, through their representatives, objected to this symbol, we may expect to see the Red Cross varied by the Red Crescent on land and sea in any war in which these nations are engaged.

#### MEDICAL AND MILITARY

Following the sixth International Conference of Red Cross Societies at Vienna in 1897, an attempt was made in England to co-ordinate and correlate the various units of military medical service, the result being the Royal Army Medical Corps, in which the medical was allied with the military organization. Surgeons became officers with regimental rank, and the orderlies of the Hospital Corps now formed the rank and file of the R.A.M.C.

The Bearer Companies were added to these, the whole unit showing a

marked advance on the previous provision, both as regards numbers and efficiency. A similar movement to co-ordinate the various voluntary aid associations was made about the same time, and, as the outcome of a conference between Lord Lansdowne, Secretary of State for War, and representatives of the National Aid Society—founded by Lord Wantage—the St. John Ambulance Association and the Army Nursing Service Reserve, a permanent Central Red Cross Council for the British Empire was formed, with headquarters in London. Eight years later, in 1905, owing to the late King Edward considering it desirable that the Red Cross movement in the Empire should be represented by one society, the "British National Society for Aid to the Sick and Wounded in War" was fused with the "Central British Red Cross Council," the British Red Cross Society being the outcome of the union. Both the Admiralty and the War Office have accorded their official recognition to this society as the organization responsible for the Red Cross movement.

Several years previously the National Aid Societies throughout Europe followed the example of the Dutch Society and universally adopted the title of Red Cross Society.

#### ON THE FIELD

Having outlined the history of the Red Cross movement, it remains to



describe its work on the battle-field.\* As soon as an engagement develops, a Field Ambulance attached to the fighting force halts some 2,000 yards behind the firing line and sends forward as many officers, bearers and wagons as may be needed; after advancing, say, 1,000 yards, the officer in command forms a dressing station, marking the position by flags, and then proceeds to break up the force into smaller bodies each under a medical officer. These advance to within a few hundred yards of the firing line and the officer in command establishes an advanced dressing station marked by a Red Cross flag, to which point the ambulance wagons proceed. The nearest ambulance wagon will be the focus towards which stretcher bearers converge.

The advanced dressing stations (where only urgent treatment to save life is given) are placed as close to the firing line as shelter and comparative safety from bullet or shell-fire permits. At these advanced dressing stations—a large number are required if the line of battle is a long one—are a medical officer in charge, bearers with stretchers, ambulance wagons, water cart and field companion. Still farther in the rear, as far forward as is consistent with safety, are the dressing stations; here the wounded are treated, urgent operations performed and all the details of a temporary hospital carried on. As soon as possible, however,

the wounded are conveyed in wagons to the Clearing Hospital, a mile or two farther back and out of reach of fire, where as near an approach as possible to a fully-equipped hospital of 200 beds is set up. The wounded are accommodated in a hospital encampment of tents, or housed in appropriate dwellings. From here they are removed to the stationary hospital on the Line of Communications, where all the wounded and sick are collected and cleared for Base Hospitals, or to return to their regiments. If fighting abroad, the convalescents and incurables are transferred again to a Hospital Ship and conveyed to England. The conveyance of the wounded from the Clearing Hospitals to the base is the work of the R.A.M.C.

#### A BENEFICENT MACHINE

To each division of an army, three Field Ambulances are attached, *i.e.*, one Field Ambulance to each of the three brigades of which the division is composed. A Field Ambulance consists of three sections, A, B, and C, each section being capable of acting independently. Each section comprises (a) a Bearer subdivision numbering two-thirds of the section: (b) a Tent subdivision amounting to one-third of the section. In command of the whole is the Commanding Officer: in command of each section is a Field Officer, a Major. The ambulance wagons are drawn up in rear of the sections, four wagons with A Section and three wagons each

\* *C.f.*, British Red Cross Training Manual, No. 3, by James Cantlie, F.R.C.S.



with B and C. To each section are attached two general service wagons, one water cart and one forage cart, these being drawn by two, four or six horses according to the nature of the roads. The total number of officers and men in a Field Ambulance of the Regular Army is 251, exclusive of transport personnel. In the Territorial Force, the strength of a Field Ambulance is 229, including the transport personnel.

Hospital trains are a modern invention. The Germans had one or two for use in the Franco-German war, but the first to be adapted and equipped for the carrying of a considerable number of severely wounded and their treatment on board, was that given by the British Red Cross Council for use in the South African War. Hospital trains to carry 100 patients are mobilised in the proportion of one to each division. The chief military hospital of Great Britain is the Royal Victoria Hospital at Netley, on the shores of Southampton Water. Built seventy years ago, it has accommodation for about a thousand patients. It is an important Medical School, equipped with a large staff of Medical Officers and Inspectors. There the rank and file of the Royal Army Medical Corps are trained in ward work and stretcher drill.

#### VOLUNTARY AID

In August, 1909, the Secretary of State for War issued to Territorial Force Associations in England and Wales a "Scheme for the Organization

of Voluntary Aid for sick and wounded" in the event of war in the Home Territory. From that time the Red Cross Society has been actively engaged in raising, training and equipping Voluntary Aid Detachments to provide the personnel for (a) Clearing Hospitals; (b) Stationary Hospitals; (c) Ambulance Trains; and (d) other formations, viz., Entrenching and Rest Stations, Private Hospitals and Convalescent Homes. Each Voluntary Aid Detachment as it becomes efficient is registered at the War Office under consecutive numbers (which are published in Army Orders) and forms part of the Technical Reserve. These Voluntary Aid Detachments are organized in each county and consist respectively of men and women as follows:—Men's Detachment: 48 men, 4 section-leaders, 1 Pharmacist, 1 Quartermaster, 1 Medical Officer, 1 Commandant. Women's Detachment: 20 women, of whom 4 should be qualified as cooks, 1 Pharmacist, 1 Quartermaster, man or woman, 1 Lady Superintendent, who should be a trained nurse, 1 Medical Officer, when the Commandant is not a doctor, and 1 Commandant, man or woman, and not necessarily a doctor. By November 1st, 1913, the Society had registered 1,848 Voluntary Aid Detachments, with the total personnel of 53,723. Enrolment as a member of a Red Cross Voluntary Aid Detachment does not, however, render such individual a member or associate of the British Red Cross Society.

## A UNIFORM ORGANIZATION

Many divisions of the St. John Ambulance Brigade are also registered at the War Office as Voluntary Aid Detachments and adopt a uniform organization. The Brigade now numbers some 850 Divisions, with roughly 25,000 members; of this total the Nursing Sisters form less than one-fourth. The nursing service of the Military Hospitals falls into two sections: the ordinary work of the wards is done by trained orderlies of the R.A.M.C., who are under the direction of the Sisters and Staff Nurses belonging to Queen Alexandra's Imperial Nursing Service. Before a candidate is admitted to service she must possess a three years' certificate of efficiency in medical and surgical nursing from a Civil Hospital of more than 100 beds registered as a training school for nurses, and must satisfy the Board of her fitness as regards education, social position and character. It is, indeed, a long road from the ward maid, or domestic servant—for the women employed in hospitals prior to the days of Florence Nightingale were seldom more—to the experienced highly-trained lady who nurses our wounded to-day.

Even before Florence Nightingale's crusade, attempts had been made to remedy the woeful deficiency. In 1836, Pastor Fliedner opened the first training institution for women nurses at Kaiserwerth, and it was here

Florence Nightingale studied to such vast and beneficent purpose. Two years later the Quakers of Philadelphia instituted a Nursing Organization, which trained and sent out nurses to labour among the poor, this example being imitated by Elizabeth Fry, who opened an Institute for Nursing Sisters in London in 1840 which in 1857 had no fewer than 90 nurses on its staff receiving practical training at Guy's and St. Thomas's Hospitals. In 1848, St. John's House, a Church of England Nursing Institute, was opened in London, whose nurses received their training at King's College Hospital; when proficient they entered the wards of the hospital as well as worked in private houses. This Institute is still in existence doing useful work on modern lines.

From the foregoing it will be gathered that it is not without sufficient reason that throughout the world the Red Cross is "the emblem which proclaims to the sick and injured, in peace and war, comfort in distress and relief in suffering." One day it is to be hoped war will be abolished. Until that day arrives it rests upon men and women of every civilized nation to co-operate in order to ameliorate the terrible sufferings it inevitably involves. This is the task of the Red Cross Movement and nobly is it achieving it. The Head Office of the British Red Cross Society is at 9, Victoria Street, S.W.

## XVIII. A WORLD'S FINANCIAL CRISIS

THE great war had been talked about as a possibility for many years. It was never really realized as a fact before it started. Its probable influence upon the finances of the world were discussed in a haphazard manner, something really not worth troubling about. Still, the war has occurred, the financial credit of the country has had the greatest blow that has ever been given to the financial strength of a nation, and it has stood the test. It is probable that the general public has not understood the financial preparations for war which were made by Germany for a long time past.

For many years there has been a struggle between the big nations of Europe to increase their gold supplies and add to their war chests. These operations were not confined to Germany, as France and Russia were following the same line of policy, but Germany easily took the lead and gradually drew £20,000,000 into its reserve. It was internally pointed out to Germany that the country was financially unprepared for war and, accordingly, the process of steadily filling the war chest was adopted in competition with France

and Russia. Coming to more recent days, the month before the start of the war Germany adopted rather similar tactics.

### FLUNG ON OUR MARKET

It may have been owing purely to financial reasons, or it may have been part of a scheme, but all shares in which Germany was interested were flung upon the English market. Prices collapsed under the strain, but the Germans drew upon this country for the value of stock which had been sold here.

It is easy to assume that the selling by Germany was more due to nerves owing to the possibility of war than to an actual raid on the English market. For years the speculative position of the German Stock markets has been regarded as unsound, and the thought of war, no matter with whom, has always been sufficient to send German bankers headlong to the Government to warn it of financial collapse. This financial collapse is now in progress.

The sharp turn of the crisis was apparent in this country when the Bank of England raised its rate from 4 to 8 per cent., while it did business







with the market at 10 per cent. Shortly after, the Bank rate was raised to 10 per cent., and this at once gave rise to the expectation that the Bank Act would be suspended.

This might have been a relief but the steps taken were of a wiser character. It was decided to extend the Bank Holiday from Monday until Thursday, and a Moratorium of a month was granted on bills of exchange. It was followed by a general Moratorium, dealing more extensively with the difficult position. The Moratorium came as a relief in financial circles, but between trader and trader it frequently caused trouble as there was a disposition to exceed the exact intention of the proclamation. This brought about a good deal of friction, not only between traders but between bankers and their customers. Loans which had been in existence for long periods were called in and the view expressed in many quarters was that the banks were not treating their clients fairly. The terms of the Moratorium were that debts due should be repaid one month after they became due. This did not apply to wages or to small amounts, sums under five pounds, to rates and taxes, or to the Workmen's Compensation Act.

#### AFTER THE HOLIDAY

The lengthy Bank Holiday and the Moratorium had at first a rather depressing influence upon public nerves, and in trade and financial circles there was a disposition to

face a serious financial crisis. The gold reserves of the country have never been too high, and it was consequently feared that a run might be made upon the joint stock banks, which would mean disaster to the whole community. The Chancellor of the Exchequer at this period made a speech, which received the approval of the whole nation. He reminded the public that those who withdrew gold in order to hoard it were attacking the Government, and the nation itself; that finance must play an enormous part in the battle, and that it would be one of the most formidable weapons. Those who went out of their way to hoard gold, either through excessive caution or cowardice, were assisting the enemy more effectually than if they took up arms against this country.

The outcome of the matter was the issuing of £1 and ten shilling Government notes, which became legal tender, and a freer coinage of silver. The banks opened on Friday, August 7th, after their lengthy holiday, and, although there was some considerable inquiry for funds, it was soon apparent that the worst of the crisis had passed. The country had adapted itself to altered conditions with a customary placidity. There were long queues at the Bank of England desirous of changing notes, but, for the most part, these were people who were travelling and desired something more convenient than the five-pound note.

At the branches of the joint stock



banks, the demand for currency was to an extent counterbalanced by an inflow of gold from traders. They had the intakings of the period covered by the prolonged Bank Holiday which they were only too glad to put into the keeping of their banks, and accordingly, the outflow of currency was largely assisted by an inflow of coin a good deal having

been passed to retail people by stupidly selfish people, who had decided to store provisions as if in siege time.

#### NOT PLEASANT READING

The Bank of England's return, for the week ended August 5th, was however, a far from pleasant document. These were the figures:—

	Total.	Increase or Decrease over previous week.
	£	£
Circulation Issue - - - -	44,491,070	— 10,630,335
Circulation Active - - - -	36,105,420	+ 6,399,070
Public Deposits - - - -	11,499,452	— 1,213,765
Other Deposits - - - -	56,749,610	+ 2,330,702
Government Securities - - -	11,041,152	+ 36,026
Other Securities - - - -	65,351,656	+ 18,044,126
Coin and Bullion - - - -	27,622,069	— 10,509,475
Seven-Day and other Bills - -	10,312	— 657
Rest - - - -	3,547,083	+ 55,327
Notes in Reserve - - - -	8,385,650	— 17,029,405
Total Reserve (Notes and Coin) -	9,966,649	— 16,908,545
Proportion of Reserve to Liabilities -	14.6 p.c.	— 25.4 p.c.

This statement caused a shock to the market owing to the reduction of close on £17,000,000 in the Reserve and the drop in the proportion to about 14½ per cent. Still, the Bank Rate was rapidly reduced, first from 10 per cent. to 6 per cent., then to 5 per cent., and conditions in the money market became almost normal as far as the ordinary public was concerned.

With regard to high finance, however, the position was distinctly strained. A complete breakdown had been brought about owing to the fact that there were no exchange

rates between the trading countries, and the outbreak of war, coming as suddenly as it did, caught the country with a supply of bills in its possession representing hundreds of millions sterling, the whole of which was for the time being tied up owing to the breaking down of the credit system.

#### OUR CREDIT SYSTEM

The system of credit in this country has always answered its purpose admirably, and it has to be remembered that there was merely a temporary dislocation from which the

recovery was speedy. In 1913, the cheques and bills of exchange passed through the Bankers' Clearing House, amounted to the stupendous total of £16,400,000,000, while the total stock of gold in the Kingdom was estimated at about £150,000,000. In this country we pay only small amounts in cash, and for the most part deal in cheques and bills of exchange, which are a promise to pay at sight or at a future date. Our money market accordingly found itself with a tremendous amount of bills in its possession which for the time had ceased to be liquid, due to the war and the Moratorium, while the breakdown of exchange made it impossible for a neutral country like America to pay its indebtedness except in gold and this also was impracticable owing to the war.

On July 28th, panicky conditions developed in Wall Street. This was the immediate consequence of the declaration of war by Austria on Servia. Prices fell heavily, the greatest fall being in Canadian Pacifics, in consequence of the huge sales from Berlin. There were also scenes of wild excitement in the wheat pit, reminiscent of the wild uproar during the Joe Leiter corner in 1898. In order to avert a worse crisis, the New York Stock Exchange was closed.

The Government, the Bank of England and the joint stock banks

came in keen consultation to remedy the deadlock with regard to bills of exchange and eventually a scheme was reached which gave relief to the financiers of the kingdom.

#### A GOVERNMENT GUARANTEE

On Wednesday night, August 18th, it was announced that, in order to permit of the resumption of trade, the Government had agreed to guarantee the Bank of England from any loss it might incur with regard to discounting bills of exchange. The Bank of England expressed its willingness to discount bills of exchange accepted before August 4th at Bank rate and gave the acceptor the opportunity until further notice of postponing payment, interest being payable at 2 per cent. over Bank rate.

The whole money market was startled by this policy, which was something unheard of in the country before. But everything was unheard of before. The prolonged Bank holiday, the issue of small notes, the Moratorium and the sagacious assistance of a Government which showed itself alert to every possibility of the financial situation and saved the country from panic by grasping the situation before it had time to become truly formidable.

The tremendous change which took place in the position is shown in this Bank return, which was issued on September 2nd :

	Total.	Increase or Decrease over Previous Week.
	£	£
Circulation Issue - - - -	65,501,075	+ 4,308,200
Circulation Active - - - -	35,287,760	— 283,675
Public Deposits - - - -	28,676,828	+ 4,790,063
Other Deposits - - - -	133,818,826	+ 9,926,167
Government Securities - - - -	28,023,971	— 1,755,000
Other Securities - - - -	121,820,692	+ 11,916,022
Coin and Bullion - - - -	47,772,712	+ 4,299,300
Seven-Day and other Bills - - - -	13,295	+ 2,017
The Rest - - - -	3,717,666	+ 25,750
Notes in Reserve - - - -	30,213,315	+ 4,591,875
Total Reserve (Notes and Coin) - - - -	30,934,952	+ 4,582,975
Proportion of Reserve to Liabilities - - - -	19.0 p.c.	+ 1.2 p.c.

## A COMPARISON

Clearly to gauge the position it is necessary to compare the first return

mentioned here, issued on August 5th, with that of September 2nd. This table shows the great changes :

	August 5th.	Sept. 2nd.	Increase.
	£	£	£
Coin and Bullion - - - -	27,622,069	47,772,712	+ 20,150,643
Reserve - - - -	9,966,649	30,934,952	+ 20,968,303
Ratio to Liabilities - - - -	14.6 p.c.	19.0 p.c.	+ 4.4 p.c.
Other Securities - - - -	65,351,656	121,820,692	+ 56,469,036
Other Deposits - - - -	56,749,610	133,818,826	+ 77,069,216
Government Securities - - - -	11,041,152	28,023,971	+ 16,982,819

These figures are a striking example of the remarkable alterations which came over the financial position of the country, thanks to the intervention of the Government. The Bank stock of gold was raised in the period by over £20,000,000. This represented gold which had been arranged for delivery from America or purchased as it arrived from South Africa. As no gold could be exported under war regulations, this had a great influence. The most striking change, however, was

the increase in other deposits and other securities which represented the vast amount of assistance which the Government gave to the nation by its action in regard to bills of exchange. Other securities reached the gigantic total of £121,800,000, and correspondingly other deposits rose to £133,800,000.

With this huge amount of new credit backed by the Government it was naturally thought that the money market would move with greater



freedom, but the joint stock banks were soon charged with withholding facilities. It was argued in many quarters that they were sitting on their balances and thereby thwarting the great efforts of the Government to assist the general movement of the money market. To an extent this may have been true, and a strong rebuke from the Chancellor of the Exchequer in due course brought the banks to a keener sense of the duty which they owed to the country and to the fact that they were not "playing the game." There was a warning that those banks which were behaving in an improper manner might be named.

#### ABOUT THE BANKERS

With "other deposits" standing at £133,000,000, compared with about £43,000,000 in normal times, it certainly appeared as if the banks would not take their proper share of the risk. The defence of the bankers was that the position was one that had to be faced with a policy of extreme caution, and in the interests of the community it was necessary to hold large credits in order to meet anything in the nature of a run should such occur. It was denied in most circles that there had been anything in the way of pressure upon clients, and also asserted that facilities were restricted only when it was obvious that the matter was one of speculation based upon war prospects. The man who wanted to be a bull of produe by means of a loan from his

bankers found it was not available. As timidity wore off, the demands of traders were more readily granted. A further step was taken on September 4th, when the Government once again took steps to improve the position.

These financial operations coincided with the statement of the Premier on the previous day that the British Navy had kept our trade lines of communication perfect while hampering and impeding those of the enemy. The next move was further to restore the credit system and this was done by granting additional assistance with regard to pre-Moratorium bills. It was agreed that the Bank of England should provide, where required, acceptors with the funds necessary to pay all approved pre-Moratorium bills at maturity. This course released the drawers and endorsers of such bills from their liabilities as parties to these bills, although their liability under any agreement with the acceptors for payment or cover was retained.

The acceptors were to be under obligation to collect from their clients all the funds due to them as soon as possible, and to apply those funds to repayment of the advances made by the Bank of England. Interest being charged upon these advances at 2 per cent. above the ruling bank rate.

#### FRESH BUSINESS

The Bank undertook not to claim repayment of any amounts not recovered by the acceptors from their

clients for a period of one year after the close of the war, and in order to facilitate fresh business and the movement of produce and merchandise from and to all parts of the world, the joint stock banks arranged, with the co-operation, if necessary, of the Bank of England and the Government, to advance to clients the amounts necessary to pay their acceptances at maturity where the funds had not been provided in due time by the clients of the acceptors.

The announcement caused the greatest satisfaction in financial circles, as it was obviously another attempt

to safeguard the country from danger in connection with its food supplies.

At the time of the outbreak of the war the gold reserve of the country had been severely strained, partly owing to the payment for stock flung on the market by Germany. A decided change took place, however, after the declaration, and the gold stock of the Bank in about a month advanced by over £20,000,000. It reached a total of £47,700,000, which was the highest since 1896, when there was a long period of a 2 per cent. bank rate. The steady upgrade of the reserve is here indicated :

Week ended	Reserve,	Gold Coin and Bullion.	Gold Movements.
	£	£	£
July 29th - - -	26,875,000	38,131,000	820,000 withdrawn.
August 5th - - -	9,966,000	27,622,000	2,528,000 „
„ 12th - - -	15,530,000	33,014,000	9,589,000 received.
„ 19th - - -	19,223,000	37,960,000	3,402,000 „
„ 26th - - -	26,352,000	43,473,000	4,296,000 „
September 2nd - -	30,935,000	47,773,000	1,350,000 „

With all the Stock Exchanges closed it was obvious that the London institution could not afford to stand and be shot at. Germany would have been only too pleased to make a raid. There were continual deliberations after the close of the House as to its reopening, but the difficulties in the way were immense. Such huge sums were owing by the Stock Exchange to bankers, and such large amounts were due from abroad, and there were so many technicalities in connection with

the internal working of the "House" that reopening had to be postponed indefinitely.

#### TALKING MATTERS OVER

Dealers assembled daily in the Street more to talk over matters than for any other purpose, and gradually a business grew between one broker's office and another. With settlements postponed, however, business was wholly on a cash basis, and with the energetic jobber out of work the

amount of dealing got through was practically insignificant. Some idea of the prices which were quoted in the early days of September may, however, be gathered from this table :

	Early Sept.	End of July.
Consols - - - -	68½xd	69
Local Loans - - -	79½xd	81
Bank of England - -	245	247½
Port of London 3½%	84½xd	87
Canada 4% - - -	93xd	97
Great Northern Deferred	41	44½
Great Western - -	103	108½
Chatham Ordinary - -	10	10½
North Western - -	114	121
Midland Deferred - -	59½xd	63
Canadian Pacific Rly. -	157	165
Grand Trunk Ordinary -	11½	11¾
Union Pacific - - -	110½xd	117
Steels - - - -	48½xd	54½
Mexican Railway :		
Ordinary - - - -	32½	30½
2nd Preference - - -	64	62
Brazilian Traction - -	55	58
Mexican Eagle Ordinary	1½	1½
Linggi - - - -	11/6	12/6
Shells - - - -	3½	3¾
Spies - - - -	14/-	14¾
Chartered - - - -	11/-	13/3
Gold Fields - - - -	1½	1½
De Beers - - - -	11¾	13½
Rand Mines - - - -	5½	4¾
Rio Tinto - - - -	49	53
B.A.—Great Southern -	95	102
Western - - - -	95	102
Pacific - - - -	51	52
Central Argentine - -	88	92
Harrods - - - -	4½	4¾
Lyons' Ordinary - - -	5½	6½
Marconi Ordinary - -	1¾	1½
Do. Preferred - - -	1½	1½
Selfridge Preferred -	20/-	20/9

It has to be strongly borne in mind that these prices were absolutely nominal. They merely represented the

passing about of small quantities of stock, and dealers in the gilt-edged market agreed to hold quotations at round about the levels which existed before the war.

No great comparison can be made between the position of the Stock Exchange during the start of the present war and that of the last great European conflict in 1870. Positions have entirely changed. The Stock Exchange of that period was, comparatively, a trivial institution dealing only in Consols, a few Foreign Government stocks and some of the English railways. A financial crisis, however, became acute in the early part of July, 1870, and there was a panic in our markets. The fall in prices was by no means so stupendous as it would have been here at present if the Stock Exchange had remained open. The dealings between this country and the Continent were then insignificant compared with those of recent years. Consols, which were then 3 per Cents., fell from 92¾ to 89 in the first three weeks of July, 1870. Railway stocks and foreign bonds receded in greater proportion, but the panic was soon relieved, and by the time of the signing of peace in May, 1871, the price of Consols was higher than at the outbreak of the war, the quotation at that time being 93¾.

#### THE SLUMP !

The conditions of 1870 have not been repeated. The depreciation which took place prior to the closing of the Stock Exchange in July was



terrific and impossible to estimate. The *Bankers' Magazine* gives a list each month of 387 representative stocks, ranging from Consols to miscellaneous mining shares. Worked upon this representative basis of 387 securities the falling off in value during the ten days from July 20th to the 30th was £188,000,000. To estimate the actual reduction in values which occurred all through the Stock Exchange during this eventful ten days would be instructive but practically impossible of accomplishment when the enormous number of securities are considered.

The probable cost of the war it is naturally impossible to estimate at present as its duration is unknown. The South African war cost roughly £225,000,000. This was raised in the first place by Treasury borrowings, and then by an issue of a war loan which was redeemed within a stated period. In present conditions similar lines are likely to be followed, although the amount which will have to be raised will be considerably larger owing to the greater number of troops employed and to the vital importance of the struggle. During the first month of the conflict the Government raised £30,000,000 in Treasury Bills, and this money was obtained on exceptionally favourable terms owing to the abundance of credit in the Money Market, to which it had largely contributed, and it was estimated that it had raised about £20,000,000 in other directions against which about £8,000,000 was repaid when the

Government found that its supplies were larger than was necessary at the time. In due course a war loan will be issued which will take in the whole of the short loans for redemption purposes, and give the nation a direct opportunity of financially supporting the country.

#### IN BRIEF

The financial record of the war period may be summarized as follows :  
July 31.—London and New York

Stock Exchanges closed indefinitely.

Aug. 3.—Bank Holiday extended to August 6th.

„ 6.—Moratorium till September 4th.

„ 7.—Small note issue.

„ 12.—German bank branches resume business.

„ 13.—Government takes action on Bills of Exchange and arranges for the holding of gold in the Colonies for account of the Bank of England.

„ 19.—Issue of £15,000,000 Treasury Bills of six months' duration.

„ 26.—Issue of a further £15,000,000 Treasury Bills.

„ 27.—Authority granted for a war loan issue.

Sept. 1.—Moratorium extended to October 4th.

„ 4.—Further arrangements made by the Government with the banks to assist the trade of the country with regard to pre-moratorium bills.

It will be seen that the credit system of England maintained itself well under the crashing shock which it experienced, and at the end of the first month of the war the financial position of the country was as firmly established as at the start, while the resources of the nation had greatly improved.

### THE MONEY WEAPON

It has been frequently argued that financial resources have never prevented battle. This is correct, but the absence of financial resources have tended to bring about a termination. Our Government took a grant of £100,000,000 as the first instalment of a War Loan. They received power from the nation, as represented by Parliament, to draw to this extent as a basis. Up to September 9th the amount which had been disbursed was about £27,000,000. This, of course, included the expensive mobilization period, and it was counted that the further war expenditure would be on a lower scale. The ultimate expenditure was frankly faced. The Chancellor of the Exchequer delivered a characteristic speech at this time, and a practical one, as it dealt with the position of Municipal finance. He observed, to the Association of Municipal Corporations, that assistance would be granted out of any Imperial Loan where circumstances really called for such expenditure, and that the Government would lend at the same rate of interest as they

paid themselves, with an allowance for actual expenses.

The inference was obvious that the municipalities could borrow from the Government to make provision for distress in their districts, but not for ordinary affairs which might be suitable in the time of peace and valueless when it was a question of every shilling having to be carefully considered. It was a case of there being plenty of money available for the nation as a whole in the various municipalities, but none for municipal schemes.

As Mr. Lloyd George said: "I do not think this is the time to embark in great municipal enterprises which have no reference to distress. We want every penny we can raise to fight the common enemy, and our first consideration ought to be to win. Unless we do that there will be no country for municipalities or Governments to administer. The first thing is that we should come out triumphant in this struggle, and as finance is going to play a very great part we must husband our resources." The Chancellor of the Exchequer then spoke of the weight of money. The figures of the Bank of England's return show to some extent how the resources of the country increased, but they do not represent clearly the vast resources which can be called upon in this country for War Loans.

The Government was able to borrow at under 3½ per cent. in the early stage of the war. This was done by the issue of Treasury Bills, which are

not a security favoured by the ordinary investor, and there was a general desire on the part of investors who had money in hand and wished to place it in the keeping of the Government that the War Loan should be brought out speedily. The previous War Loan which was issued at the time of the South African trouble was for a short period. The amount was £30,000,000, and it gave a good return to the investor while he was paid off in due course at a profit on the issue price. While this country was borrowing at about  $3\frac{1}{4}$  per cent., the German Government was making preparations for a loan at 5 per cent. The official announcement in Berlin was that the directors of the Reichs-

bank would publish the terms of a first War Loan of £50,000,000 in 5 per cent. Treasury bonds, and a big Government loan was also being prepared, also at 5 per cent., and not redeemable until 1944. In both cases the price of issue was under par, so the borrowing capacity of the nations can be calculated when England raised its money at about  $3\frac{1}{4}$  per cent., and Germany had to pay something over 5 per cent.

It was with a keen eye to the financial aspect of affairs that the Chancellor of the Exchequer said that the first hundred millions the enemies can stand as well as we can but the last they cannot.



## XIX. TRADE FOR THE MERCHANT VENTURER

The Great War affords the British trader the most remarkable opportunity of extending his export operations that has ever been offered him. The British Navy has swept the German mercantile flag from the seas, and about three million tons of German shipping are either interned in German or neutral ports or actually captured by our cruisers. The great German export trade, a good second to our own, has been almost completely cut off, and our command of the seas is making it almost impossible for Germany to obtain raw materials. Germany has been economically crippled at a stroke, and her position will grow steadily worse for every week that the war is pro-

tracted. In different degree the same remarks are true of Austria-Hungary.

### OUR SURE SHIELD

While the enemy Powers are thus *hors de combat* as traders, Britain, secured by her Navy, is able to get on with her work. The fall in European producing power is of course depriving her temporarily of many European customers, but, on the other hand, it is fortunately true that our indispensable imports are chiefly derived from places out of Europe, and that our exports are chiefly sold to places out of Europe. The facts on this head will be seen at a glance from the following statement:—

ANALYSIS OF OUR WORLD TRADE: 1913

	Imports from	Exports to (British Goods only)
ENEMY POWERS:	£	£
Germany - - -	80,500,000	40,700,000
Austria-Hungary - -	7,700,000	4,500,000
ALLIED AND NEUTRAL		
EUROPEAN POWERS -	221,000,000	133,400,000
TOTAL: Europe - -	309,200,000	178,600,000
All the Rest of the World -	459,800,000	346,900,000
All the World - - -	769,000,000	525,500,000

We can thus draw raw materials from the world at large almost as freely as though the war were not, and after working them up with our coal, we can export them to neutral markets which in war, as in peace, are our best markets. In the meantime our supplies of food are absolutely secure, and there is no fear of famine prices.

### IN NEUTRAL MARKETS

But, as we have already indicated, our position in neutral markets is

very different from what it was before the war. The competition of Germany and of Austria-Hungary is cancelled, and alike in the British home market, in the Colonial market, in the Indian market, and in foreign neutral markets, the British manufacturer is free from the assaults of his most formidable competitor. To see clearly what this means, let us look at an analysis of the import and export trade of Germany and of Austria-Hungary for 1912, the last year for which we have complete figures available :—

#### ANALYSIS OF GERMAN AND AUSTRIAN TRADE IN 1912.

Country and Analysis.	Imports into	Exports from
	£	£
GERMANY :		
Food and Animals -	157,400,000	39,200,000
Raw Materials - -	289,200,000	116,600,000
Manufactures - -	79,100,000	284,600,000
TOTAL : Germany -	£525,700,000	£440,400,000
AUSTRIA-HUNGARY :		
Food and Raw Materials	83,600,000	40,000,000
Manufactures - -	64,600,000	73,900,000
TOTAL : Austria -	£148,200,000	£113,900,000

We see on the one hand how the enemy Powers, and especially Germany, must suffer from the cutting off of the greater part of their normal imports, and on the other hand how great is their export trade in manufactured articles. In 1912 the exports of manufactures by Germany and

Austria-Hungary amounted to over £358,000,000, and in 1913 this figure was exceeded; it must have approached £400,000,000.

Such, then, are the broad dimensions of the magnificent opportunity which, unsought by us, has been thrust upon British traders by the war.

## THE BROAD TOTALS

Detailed analysis of the broad totals which have been set out show that German export trade is very nearly akin to our own. No other country so keenly and so nearly competes with us in many of our staple trades. We are able to give for last year a statement showing for many of the main lines of manufacture what German competition in the world at large (including, be it remembered, the British home market) amounted to :—

Wood Manufactures	-	-	3,600,000
Woollen Manufactures :			
Combed Wool	-	-	2,400,000
Yarns -	-	-	3,800,000
Manufactures	-	-	11,900,000

This statement is by no means complete: it deals only with those lines of trade in which Germany chiefly shines in the world's export markets. A complete list of German exports would be of very great length.

## A GREAT OPENING

### GERMAN CHIEF EXPORTS OF MANUFACTURED GOODS IN 1913.

	£
Motor Cars - - - -	4,200,000
Rubber Goods - - - -	6,400,000
Cement - - - -	1,900,000
Chemical Products :	
Dyes - - - -	10,800,000
Other Products - - - -	3,600,000
Clocks - - - -	1,100,000
Copper and Copper Wares -	8,900,000
Cotton Goods :	
Tissues - - - -	7,700,000
Gloves - - - -	2,100,000
Hosiery - - - -	3,800,000
Other kinds - - - -	5,900,000
Cycles - - - -	1,300,000
Electrical Goods :	
Cables - - - -	1,900,000
Glow Lamps - - - -	2,250,000
Other Goods - - - -	10,300,000
Glass and Glassware - - -	7,300,000
Iron and Steel - - - -	66,900,000
Leather - - - -	10,100,000
Leather Goods :	
Boots - - - -	1,500,000
Gloves - - - -	1,100,000
Other Goods - - - -	3,100,000
Machinery - - - -	33,900,000
Pianos - - - -	2,400,000
China and Earthenware -	1,600,000
Silk Manufactures - - - -	6,200,000
Toys - - - -	5,200,000
Wearing Apparel, Millinery, etc. - - - -	5,500,000

Inspection of the above items shows how magnificent a field is opened up for us by the extraordinary economic position created by the war. And when we come to analyse the destination of the goods we find that they go to every quarter of the world, for the pushfulness of the German has been exercised in every possible field of trade. A very large proportion of the German exports is sold in the British Empire. The German export trade in all branches in 1912, was worth £440,000,000 (in 1913 the figure had risen to £496,000,000). More than one-fifth of this commerce was done with the United Kingdom and our oversea possessions. The United Kingdom alone, in 1913, took over £80,000,000 worth of German goods, whereas our sales to Germany were worth about £40,000,000. Germany has also obtained a big foothold in our Colonial markets and in India as will be seen by the following statement :—



GERMAN GOODS IMPORTED INTO THE  
BRITISH EMPIRE, 1912.

	£
United Kingdom - - -	71,200,000
Canada - - -	3,000,000
South Africa - - -	3,300,000
Australia - - -	7,200,000
New Zealand - - -	700,000
India - - -	6,900,000
Ceylon - - -	400,000
Straits Settlements - - -	800,000
West Indies - - -	200,000
West Africa - - -	1,400,000
Other Places - - -	400,000
<b>TOTAL - - -</b>	<b>£95,500,000</b>

It is a curious position which obtains in the British home market. The war has given British producers absolute protection against Germany and against Austria-Hungary, as trading with the enemy is, of course, illegal. It is true that not all the German imports were strictly competitive, for we obtained some valuable materials, such as zinc, largely from Germany. In some classes of goods, also, we made little attempt to compete with Germany, as, for example, in dyes, and in some branches of the chemical and drug trade. It is certainly true, however, that there is little or nothing of German manufacture that cannot be produced in this country, and since German products such as the wonderful alizarine dyes, and drugs such as aspirin, etc., are not now obtainable, the opportunity should be taken firmly to establish the manufacture of such things in this country.

#### A COMMITTEE SITS

As to chemicals, colours, and dye-

stuffs, the President of the Board of Trade has appointed an expert Committee to consider the position, and a distinguished body of men, with Lord Haldane as Chairman, has consented to serve upon it. Amongst the scientists serving are Dr. George Beilby, Dr. J. J. Dobbie, Professor Raphael Meldola, and Professor W. H. Perkin, who was the original discoverer of the aniline colours. (The secretary of the Committee is Mr. F. Gosling, of the Patent Office, and he can be addressed at the Commercial Intelligence Branch of the Board of Trade, 73, Basinghall Street, London, E.C.)

The appointment of this Committee is of great significance and it reminds us that as to a certain proportion of the German exports German success depends not so much upon energy and enterprise in trading as upon the application to manufacturing industry of scientific research. In greater or less degree it will be necessary to apply such methods to no small part of the German trade that we hope to win. They are great qualities which go to the making of such various objects as German pianofortes, German electrical machinery, German leather, German paper specialties, etc., and what the war gives us is not a permanent gift of German trade in these things, but a great opportunity to rival or excel the German productions.

The war had not proceeded more than a few weeks before some British firms began to feel the benefit of the

removal of their chief competitor. We may mention, for example, the case of a South of England firm of toy manufacturers who were just approaching their slack season during which, as a rule, they found it difficult to keep their sixty men fully employed. They have been overwhelmed with orders for such things as children's toy spades, wooden hoops, etc. As a consequence, they will be full up with work for some time to come.

#### SPREADING THE KNOWLEDGE

The Board of Trade have taken active steps to spread knowledge of the many openings to which we have referred. Special reports have been obtained from the Trade Commissioners in the Colonies, and a series of most valuable trade monographs have been prepared for distribution to Chambers of Commerce and all interested persons.

In the great Dominion of Canada, where, as we have seen, Germany has been selling £3,000,000 worth of exports, our Trade Commissioner reports that the following branches deserve special attention: brass goods, cutlery, electrical apparatus, enamelled ware, glass ware, gloves, lamps, hosiery, toys, earthenware, leather, clothing, boiler tubes, medicines, carding machinery, etc. From Australia comes news that the financial position of the market is strong, the commercial position sound, and that there is a good

opportunity for our manufacturers to secure much valuable trade. Attention should be particularly directed to fencing wire, mild steel, wire netting, cotton hosiery, minor articles of apparel, rubber goods and china ware.

The New Zealand Trade Commissioner considers trade prospects good, but recommends prompt action to anticipate American competition.

The fine markets of South America should also receive attention, for their future expansion is likely to be marvellous and Germany has obtained a great foothold there. In 1912, German imports into Argentina were worth nearly £13,000,000 and those from the United States nearly £12,000,000. Argentina imports amongst other things iron and steel, machinery, brass goods, railway plant, locomotives, electrical machinery, agricultural machinery, cement, textiles, paper, glass and earthenware. Analysis of the Argentine trade returns shows that Germany has made a considerable inroad into the import trade of some of these articles. Even in machinery Germany supplied a larger proportion than Britain in 1912—37 per cent. against 30 per cent. With regard to electrical machinery, Germany supplied 75 per cent. of the Argentine imports, while the British share was no more than 13 per cent. As to iron and steel goods, Germany supplied one-third of the imports in 1912, while Britain supplied one-fifth.



## WHERE THE NUTS GROW

With regard to Brazil, our Consul-General at Rio de Janeiro is of opinion that there is a good opportunity for British firms to secure trade now in German hands. He recommends the despatch of competent commercial representatives to study the position. In 1912 German imports were worth £11,000,000, as against £16,000,000 for Britain. Chile is another market which should be studied. Its import trade is already very large; in 1912 British imports were worth £8,000,000, while German imports were worth nearly £7,000,000.

Germany has a very large trade with the United States; in 1912 her exports to that country were worth over £34,000,000 and by far the greatest part of this large total was represented by manufactured goods, including iron and steel, machinery, electrical goods, tools, cutlery and hardware, textiles, hosiery, lace, dyes, clocks, toys, glass and pianofortes.

When it comes to studying the competitive trades in detail, we are struck with the continuance of some of the old complaints against British methods of trading. Of course, it must be remembered that complaints of this kind from friendly consuls, etc., are often inspired by that double vision which human nature possesses for the defects of its friends. Nevertheless, there seems to be substantial grounds for the criticisms that we do not sufficiently study the detailed requirements of various markets, and

that we too often allow the worth of British goods to speak for itself. When records are made by a country of the visits of commercial travellers, as for example, by Switzerland, we see only too plainly that the German is as a rule much more pushful than his British competitor.

## DETAILS IMPORTANT

There is also the important question of study of detail. Thus we find the Canadian Trade Commissioner writing of the British machines sent to Canada: "The British manufacturer again, in his catalogue, seldom gives the price for the complete machine. There is the cost of the engine to begin with, and then there are the prices for various parts, without which the engine cannot be operated. In addition, the discounts will vary frequently in respect to the different parts, and these, again, from the engine. Further, he will invoice in English money to a Canadian who does not understand it." He adds that a British engineer must remember that the Colonial buyer is not an expert, that what he wants is a "fool proof" engine of the simplest construction.

It is particularly noticeable that it is in the newest industries that Germany seems to have made the most progress, pointing to an unfortunate conservatism in the British manufacturer. Take, for example, enamelled hollow-ware, the use of which in the household has grown so



enormously in recent years. In 1912 we find that Germany exported, of enamelled domestic and kitchen-ware, implements of sheet iron, etc., no less than £1,776,000 worth against only £531,000 worth by the United Kingdom. In this year Britain alone took £273,000 of German enamelled goods. Some other markets, such as South Africa, are almost entirely supplied by Germany and Austria. There is thus a splendid opportunity offering in this trade, and it may be mentioned that the Board of Trade have taken the trouble to collect samples of popular German goods which are worth the close inspection of British manufacturers.

Another outstanding example of German success in a modern trade is offered by the electrical industry. In 1912 the German exports of dynamos, electric motors, batteries, arc lamps, searchlights, incandescent lamps, etc., were worth over £8,000,000, while the United Kingdom exports were worth a little more than £2,500,000. (In 1913 these German figures were greatly exceeded.) If we take electric glow lamps alone, the 1912 German exports were worth £2,477,000, those of Austria-Hungary £223,000, while those of the United Kingdom amounted to only £152,000. The electric lamp manufacturer has a magnificent opportunity in his own home market and in most of the markets of the world.

#### NEW AND OLD

But it is not only in new trades

that the German has been going ahead. The facts as to cutlery are worth special attention as showing how Germany has succeeded in a trade which was once almost a British monopoly. The German exports of cutlery have risen to £1,800,000 as compared with a British export of £800,000. Light is thrown on this subject by our Trade Commissioner in Montreal, who writes of that market, "There is hardly a line of goods included in this heading (cutlery) in which the United Kingdom can be considered as securing that share of the trade which the excellence of her manufactures would justify. Here and there the British manufacturer is well represented by an agent who is able to do his principal some justice, and that individual firm's trade accordingly benefits; but with these few exceptions the British manufacturer is either not represented at all, or if he is, the agency is in the hands of a firm, the nature of whose business is such that it would be impossible to do justice to the goods. . . . Radically to improve the British position a more economic method must be discovered, and with it greater selling force. Economy in handling could be secured, and a more energetic method of marketing employed, were British manufacturers of five or six of these hardware lines to combine their agencies in the hands of one strong, suitable representative."

It must be added, however, that

the German cuts his prices very fine in many lines of cheap cutlery, while his wares were exceedingly attractive and well put up.

#### WHERE TO GO

The British trader who desires to take advantage of the opportunities of which we have spoken should lose not a moment in putting himself in communication with the Board of Trade Commercial Intelligence Department, 73 Basinghall Street, London, E.C. There he can not only obtain trade statistics, particulars of markets, advices received from Trade Commissioners, British Consuls, etc., but he can see samples of German and Austrian goods and copies of German and Austrian catalogues. The Board of Trade has had to enlarge its staff to cope with so important a matter, and they have retained the services of a number of experts in the various

branches of trades, who can give practical advice and assistance.

It would be, of course, very foolish to suppose that German trade can be permanently captured without great exertion and intelligent effort. It is one thing to secure orders while German competition is necessarily stopped, it is another thing to obtain renewals of those orders when the war is over and when Germany resumes business. It is probable that for many years the German trader will be handicapped by the disfavour which German methods have created in many countries. Apart from that, the permanent factors which will tell in this matter are scientific achievements and business enterprise. The British trader has been presented with an opportunity which was quite unlooked for; it would be a thousand pities if it were not taken advantage of to the utmost.

## XX. THE FOOD OF THE PEOPLE

THERE is no more vital factor in warfare than the food supply. Like a beleagured garrison, a nation may be starved into submission, but with an adequate supply of the necessities of life it can fight on, and endure to the end.

Those countries, therefore, are best situated in war time that can supply all their own needs. That was so in the days of the Napoleonic wars just a century ago, when the various European nations, not excepting England, could produce from their own soil all the food that was required, if not the luxuries. It is different now, and it is of interest to take stock of those nations that are entirely self-supporting, and those that are not.

### ENOUGH AND NOT ENOUGH

Of the countries engaged in the present gigantic conflict, Russia is self-contained as a food producer, and France, Austria-Hungary, and Servia may be regarded as raising sufficient food to support themselves. On the other hand, England and Belgium are largely dependent on foreign supplies, and Germany also in a lesser degree. This calculation,

however, is based on normal times. The harvest operations in Europe have been interfered with by the outbreak of the war, and both Germany and Austria have suffered very materially in this respect. Although it has been said that Germany has large stores of grain accumulated for the eventuality of war, it may be taken that she will certainly soon exhaust her food unless she gets outside supplies, and the same, for special reasons, applies to Austria. It is important to recollect in this connection that if the war is prolonged the next harvest will be a short one, for all the able-bodied men of both countries will be in the battle-field, or beneath the soil that they should have been cultivating. This aspect of the matter will not affect England to the same extent, for her sowing and reaping will go on as usual, as any danger of invasion is out of the question. Indeed, while the air has resounded with the clamour of war news nothing has been more striking than the quiet ingathering of a rich harvest in our fields.

### SURVIVAL OF THE FITTEST

A consideration of these facts points inevitably to the conclusion, on the



principle of the survival of the fittest, that the nation is best off that can continue to draw foreign food supplies unhindered. The first requisite for this is, of course, the maintenance of naval supremacy, and in that respect the ports of the United Kingdom, France, and Belgium, remain open, while those of Germany and Austria are closed. These two latter countries are sealed as far as food supplies from the outside are concerned, and they must depend upon themselves, unless Denmark sends some of her dairy produce to Germany. There has been some talk of America sending, under her own flag, grain to Germany through neutral Dutch territory, but this is absolutely impracticable. Food for the enemy's forces would be contraband of war, and without involving Great Britain and the United States in any dispute, the British Fleet would simply blockade the Dutch ports. But there is no reason to suppose that either America or Holland contemplated lending themselves to such a scheme.

Now arises the further important question of how far the different European countries are dependent upon others for food. They very largely interchange supplies, but many articles may be regarded as luxuries that can be dispensed with in war time, so it is only necessary to consider the essential commodities. Bread, ever the staff of life, requires wheat, which is the most necessary foodstuff all the world over, and here Russia strikes a predominant note.

Next to the United States, Russia is the largest wheat-growing country in the world. Of her millions of peasants seven out of every eight are cultivators of the soil, and of her huge areas of land two-thirds are sown with cereals. Besides supplying all her own requirements, Russia exports large quantities of grain. To many people it will come as a surprise to learn that France ranks third as a wheat-producer, coming next to the United States and Russia. Canada, Argentina, and India have been looked upon as vast granaries, but the French tillers of the soil with their comparatively small acreage raise more wheat than any one of these countries. France produces 315,000,000 bushels a year, and only imports about 22,000,000 bushels. So by practising economy, France can easily furnish her own wheat supply. Austria and Servia are similarly placed.

#### ANOTHER STATE OF THINGS

The position is different with Britain, Germany, and Belgium. The United Kingdom raises about 65,000,000 bushels of wheat on an average each year, and imports 217,000,000; Belgium grows only 14,000,000 bushels, and has to import 49,000,000. Though Germany is not quite so badly off, still the situation is disquieting for the German Empire with its closed ports. The quantity of wheat grown in Germany is, at most, 149,000,000 bushels a year, and the imports amount to over 67,000,000 bushels. With these outside supplies

cut off, and the suspension of harvest operations, Germany may find herself in a serious plight. It will be seen that Russia has a superabundance; that France raises more than 90 per cent. of her wheat; Germany roughly about 60 per cent.; and the United Kingdom and Belgium a little over 40 per cent. each.

It is reassuring to remember that Britain obtains her wheat supplies chiefly from countries that are not involved in the war, the great bulk coming from within the British Empire, namely, Canada, Australia, and India. This is indicated by the following statement of our wheat supplies last year:

From	Wheat. Cwts.	Wheaten Flour. Cwts.
British Empire -	50,700,000	4,500,000
United States -	34,100,000	6,200,000
Argentina -	14,800,000	200,000
Russia -	5,000,000	—
Rest of World -	1,300,000	1,100,000
<b>TOTAL</b> -	<b>105,900,000</b>	<b>12,000,000</b>

According to these figures the United Kingdom has drawn very little grain from the continent, and can dispense with these supplies while other sources are open. A probability of the long continuance of the war would stimulate the production of wheat in the United States, Canada, and the Argentine.

#### WHERE WE ARE BETTER

With regard to meat the United Kingdom is better off in home production. The meat produced in the

country is 60 per cent. of the whole supply, as compared with 20 per cent. of wheat and flour. A small supply of fresh killed meat is obtained from Holland and Denmark, but a far greater amount in the way of live animals arrives from Canada and the United States, while frozen or chilled meat comes from the Argentine and Australia. The great bulk of our supplies of wheat and meat comes, in fact, from distant countries. We get large quantities of butter, eggs, bacon, poultry, fruit, and other vegetables from France, Denmark, and the Baltic ports. Of vegetables, however, we can, if need be, dispense with foreign imports, as potatoes are grown at home in sufficient quantities for all demands.

The closing of the German and Austrian ports is not of much importance to the United Kingdom so far as food supplies are concerned, except in the matter of sugar, of which we import quite half of our supplies from Germany and Austria-Hungary. Hence sugar has risen more in price than any other commodity, but with Great Britain keeping command of the seas this is the only article that is likely to remain at a high figure during the war. The traffic in dairy produce with Denmark and France may be dislocated, but Great Britain's main food supply in wheat and meat, as has been pointed out, is drawn from countries over the great trade routes, from Canada, Australia, India, the United States, and Argentina, and while these routes are open the

British nation will not be in danger of scarcity.

### THOSE CLOSED PORTS

Altogether different will be the case of Germany with her closed ports. She imports food stuffs from much the same countries as Great Britain, with the difference that in a large degree she is dependent on Russia, with whom she is now at war. The following table shows Germany's importations of wheat for a year :

From.	Tons.
Russia - - - - -	558,422
Argentina - - - - -	546,439
Canada - - - - -	269,530
United States - - - - -	446,512
Australia - - - - -	322,590

What with this year's harvest not properly garnered owing to the war, the cutting off of these supplies will materially affect Germany and lead to a scarcity at the beginning of the year. Then meat famines in Germany have been of frequent recurrence in recent years owing to the protective policy of the country, and now, if she would, Germany cannot obtain meat from abroad at any

price to supplement her own production. The increased cost of living has been felt very acutely by the industrial population in the German Empire, and it will be felt more than ever now.

Broadly speaking, while Russia, France, and in a normal measure, Austria, are self-supporting, the position of Germany and the United Kingdom is not in the same category. They are both, especially Great Britain, dependent on outside supplies. Great Britain can obtain these supplies, but Germany cannot. Moreover, the closing of German ports must divert to the British markets supplies that would otherwise have gone to Germany, and this will tend to keep prices down for the Briton. What the German loses in food the Britisher should gain. With the fleet victorious on the sea, the food supply of the United Kingdom is safeguarded. After all, this question of Europe's food supply is one of the command of the sea, for even countries now self-supporting would in a prolonged struggle cease to be so owing to the cessation of harvest operations consequent upon the havoc of war.



## XXI. AMERICA THE MORAL REFEREE

THE great Republic of America holds a trust of high, almost of sacred importance in regard to Europe's Armageddon. She is the moral referee to which Europe calls for judgment on what has happened. She stands outside the ring and is expected to see the whole truth and nothing but the truth and to help it forward so that European civilization may not go down in the brutality of war.

In a new way the New World is being brought in to redress the balance of the Old World. The soul of civilization calls her, and America, which has herself a high-minded soul and a heart for sentiment, is responding to the call by understanding and sympathy. Blood is thicker than water, and America, built up and nurtured on British love of freedom, naturally thinks first of us. But the Germans of America are a very powerful body and they have been doing their best for Germanism with other Americans.

### MAKING THE AMERICAN

Americans say that in a year or two they make a new comer a good

American citizen. Perhaps they do ; but racial associations are deep and lasting, and a strength of Germany has always been "My country right or wrong." You will see, therefore, how influential the German-American may be as a voice crying on the other side of the Atlantic. Not every American-German, by any means, but certainly the leading German papers published in America, and moreover the Kaiser's Ambassador at Washington, has, with the official machinery which he controls, frankly been "on the stump" for the Germanic cause, such as it may be.

When one remembers all this and bears in mind the large commercial bonds which have connected America and Germany, the deliverance of American public opinion on the merits of the war is the more remarkable, for it is, German-Americans apart, a solid judgment in favour of the Allies and an equally solid judgment against Germany. In America as in England and France the newspapers express public opinion, and therefore one turns to leading American journals, and others. What say ye?

"Just for a scrap of paper!" said the German Imperial Chancellor to

the British Ambassador, when blaming us for seeking to defend the neutrality of Belgium. The tell-tale phrase flashed through America and became the text of countless editorials from the Atlantic to the Pacific. Those articles cited the Chancellor's words as illustrating in striking fashion the Berlin view of international morality. "Just a scrap of paper!" Yes; the phrase will be history; it will live.

### IT GOES MARCHING ON!

"That scrap of paper," said the widely circulated, democratic *New York World*, "was the treaty guaranteeing the neutrality of Belgium. The whole history of human liberty is written on just such scraps of paper. Magna Charta was a scrap of paper. The Bill of Rights was a scrap of paper. The Declaration of Independence was a scrap of paper. Respect for these scraps of paper measures a nation's honour no less than its freedom. Democracy itself is only a scrap of paper, but it looses forces that no autocracy can stay. The German army is the most wonderful military machine ever constructed by the hand and brain of man, but in the final reckoning of history 'a scrap of paper' will prove more powerful than all the Kaiser's legions."

"What confidence," said another great American daily, the *New York Times*, "can any nation have in Germany's engagements in the future?" A third American morning paper of wide influence, the *Public*

*Ledger* of Philadelphia, rightly understood our deep desire for peace, our desire to go all lengths for peace, when it said:

"Sir Edward Grey's statement to Parliament is characteristic of the deliberation and sincere longing for peace which have been evident in British policy since the beginning of the present crisis. The nation will not be rushed into war. Nor, on the contrary, will it avoid the issue forced upon it."

### THE UNDERGROWTH

Similarly a clear grip of underground events was seen in the *Ledger's* remarks: "Austria presented an impossible ultimatum, which would have been presented anyway no matter what Servia had done, because Austria was seeking a pretext for war. No well-informed person believes that Germany did not know what Austria was doing, or that Germany disapproved it. The war for which they had been preparing could be postponed no longer, and they found a ready pretext for it, and Germany, without waiting for a Russian attack upon Austria in defence of Servia, immediately moved its troops to the Russian frontier and attacked the Russians, and at the same time crossed the French frontier and made war on its ancient enemy on the west. Everybody forgot all about little Servia and Austria's demands in that quarter, if they have not forgotten Austria also because of the more absorbing question of the fate of the States of

Northern Europe, including Great Britain itself."

When one quotes from another Philadelphia paper one recalls that the United States had their birth in that city of homes, which, therefore, has a very intimate association with civil freedom as against the government by force which is the Prussian idea, for it cannot be called, by any stretch of the word, an ideal. Said the *Evening Bulletin* of Philadelphia:

"There is no course which England can pursue with safety to her present and future interests against German aggression other than that which was indicated by Sir Edward Grey in his dispassionate statement to the Commons. England must respect her obligations to France and perform the full duty of her long-standing friendship, but more than that, she must protect herself, first by maintaining the neutrality of Belgium, already invaded by the ruthless German, and by the domination of the North Sea."

#### THE MAN IN THE STREET

"What America thinks of War!" The *American World's Work* declared that there was a "universal feeling that the Kaiser has forced on the conflict." "I made it my business," wrote the author of the article, "to ramble about the streets of New York among the crowds watching the newspaper bulletins, at cafés, on street-cars, talking with everyone I came across. The current of popular feeling was not difficult to trace.

Denunciation of the Kaiser was in most cases a sure passport to the approval of the little knot of listeners who gather to every argument. From the Battery to the Bronx, everywhere I found a definite anti-German sentiment. Not against the German people, of course, who are bound to us by close ties of blood and commerce; but against the Kaiser and the whole armour-plated superstructure of German militarism which seems to have cudgelled into war a people flourishing in the arts of peace, a people whose genius is for literature and art and commerce, the kindest-hearted people in the world. Sympathy with the Germans there exists in abundance, and horror at the task which their troops are called upon to perform. But approval of the German War Office? No! Unless it comes from Germans or Austrians themselves."

The intellectual and able *Evening Post* of New York went strongly against Germany, and thereupon from a number of German sympathizers among its readers came criticisms or appeals: "Cannot the *Evening Post*, which has invariably urged fair play for Germany as against the attempts, for instance, to stir up strife between her and England, come to her defence without reservation now? The *Evening Post* of Carl Schurz and Henry Villard, it is asserted, is in duty bound to stand by the Germans. One of our German contemporaries even goes so far as to call upon its readers to burn every copy of this newspaper they happen



to run across. We are assured that this is a holy war into which Germany has been forced against her will; that she is the only bulwark between the rising tide of Slavism and the endangered civilization of Western Europe, and, therefore, enlightened sentiment the world over should side with her as against the aggressions of the Powers, like England and France, whose real motives are jealousy and envy of the wonderful commercial growth of the Kaiser's empire."

#### GIVING THE ANSWER

Well, what was the answer to this? It was swift and clear and as follows:

"Is it any wonder that true friends of Germany cry out against all this from the depths of their affection for it? That they protest against the sophisms of a Münsterberg and of all those who would suddenly see in this horrible slaughtering of the true Germany a new crusade against the heathen? For ourselves we can only say that to us the one consolation in it all is that, if humanity is not to retrograde unspeakably, absolutism must pay for this denial of Christianity. In place of the kingdoms there must arise the Republics of Europe; out of the ashes must come a new Germany, in which pure democracy shall rule, in which no one man and no group of professional man-killers shall have the power to plunge the whole world into mourning. If this be treason to Germany, our readers must make the most of it.

To our minds, it is of profound significance that so many Americans are saying to-day: 'We wish that the Kaiser might be beaten and the German people win.'"

#### SENTIMENT AGAINST THE KAISER

One could go on quoting indefinitely to the same sense, as for instance the *New York World's* remark: "Anybody who knew the United States could have told the Kaiser that American sentiment would be practically unanimous against such a war for such a purpose"; or the observation of the *New York Tribune*, owned by the family of the late Mr. Whitelaw Reid: "American public opinion is outraged by the wanton attack on the weak neutral Power of Belgium and the slaying of its subjects. It recoils at the cost of what the Kaiser has undertaken. It has no sympathy with the excuse that this is a war of self-preservation for Germany. That is a militaristic delusion. American opinion feels that the best thing that can happen to the world is to have the German militaristic idol shattered and thrown down in the dust."

The religious feeling of America is heard in the words of the *New York Independent*: "German autocracy has made itself the enemy of mankind. Its destruction will be the emancipation of the German people themselves as well as the salvation of European republicanism." In fine we see American public opinion, as it gradually ripened and settled on the merits of

the war, come to the view well expressed in the *Public Ledger* of Philadelphia: "Democratic civilization is this hour in peril. It is the stake, the real stake, the only real stake, in the awful game of war that is being played."

#### SYMPATHY AN ASSET

Could the American people, whose own country is built on a democratic basis, remain quiescent in that condition of things? With Europe in the melting-pot the good wishes and sympathy of America count for an infinite deal. What has America to consider when she tries to get her interest in the European conflict down to a concrete basis? Her business interests, you say. That goes without saying. But this is a far larger thing than "business interests," and America knows it. It is: what is the remade Europe going to be? What is to be America's share in the remaking of it? When civilization is cracking about your ears you have to be up and doing lest the heavens themselves fall.

Now Mr. Winston Churchill, himself half an American, has put with singular clearness and ability what may be called Europe's moral claim on America. "In a word," he said, "it is the old struggle of a hundred years ago against Napoleon. The grouping of forces is different; the circumstances are different; the occasion is different; the man, above all, is different—happily. But the issue is the same. We are at grips with Prussian militarism. England stands

right in the path of this overgrowing power. Our military force is perhaps small, but it is good and it will grow; our naval and financial resources are considerable; and with these we stand between this mighty army and a dominion which would certainly not be content with European limits."

That was the reason of this war, the thing which brought it about and, Mr. Winston Churchill went on, "It is well that the democratic nations of the world—the nations, I mean, where the peoples own the Government and not the Government the people—should realize what is at stake. The French, English, and American systems of government by popular election and Parliamentary debate, with the kind of civilization which flows from such institutions, are brought into direct conflict with the highly efficient imperialist bureaucracy and military organization of Prussia. That is the issue. No partizanship is required to make it plain. No sophistry can obscure it."

#### THEIR BUSINESS

Mr. Churchill was asked whether he thought the democracy of the United States, apart from the moral issues involved, had any direct interests in the war.

"You are the judges of that," he replied. "You do not require me to talk to you of your interests. If England were to be reduced in this war, or another which would be sure to follow from it if this war were inconclusive, to the position of a small



country like Holland, then, however far across the salt water your country may lie, the burden which we are bearing now would fall on to your shoulders. I do not mean by that that Germany would attack you or that if you were attacked you would need to fear the result so far as the United States was concerned. The Monroe Doctrine, however, carries you very far in South as well as North America; and is it likely that victorious German militarism, which would then have shattered France irretrievably, have conquered Belgium, and have broken for ever the power of England, would allow itself to be permanently cut off from all hopes of that oversea expansion and development with which South America alone can supply it?"

#### THE MONROE DOCTRINE

With that we come to a brief glance at the Monroe Doctrine which, as Mr. Churchill suggests, is the point of actual contact in high world affairs between America and the war. Practically it was England who created the Monroe Doctrine; certainly she is entitled to be regarded as the joint author of it. We were the first of European nations to recognize the independence of the Argentine Republic. What preceded that is perhaps less well known. In 1823 some of the leading European Powers were disposed to intervene in their own interests in the little wars that were going on between the Spanish-American communities and Spain itself. It

was just at this time that George Canning addressed a letter to the United States Minister in England, suggesting that Spanish South Americans had thoroughly won their title to independence, and that it would be a splendid benefit both to the South American Republics and to civilization in general if Great Britain and the United States agreed to support them in resisting European aggression or territorial occupation. President Monroe saw the value of what Canning had suggested, and incorporated it in his Presidential Message.

"It is now ninety years," wrote Ex-President Taft, five years ago, "since what the world has always called the Monroe Doctrine was announced by President Monroe in a message to Congress. It was a declaration to the world that any effort on the part of a European Government to force its political system upon a people of this hemisphere, or to oppress it, would affect the safety of the United States and would be inimical to her interests, and further that the subjecting to colonization by any European Government of any part of the two American continents, all of which was held to be within the lawful jurisdiction of some Government, would be equally objectionable. The first part of the declaration was prompted by the fear that the then Holy Alliance of Russia, Prussia, Austria and France would attempt to assist Spain in reconquering the Central and South American republics that had revolted



from Spain and set up independent governments which had been recognized by the United States. The other part, against colonization, was prompted by certain claims that Russia was making to control over territory on the north-west coast of North America, to which the United States then asserted title. There was expressly excepted from the Doctrine thus announced any purpose to interfere with Spain's effort to regain her lost colonies, or the continued exercise of jurisdiction by European Governments over any colonies or territories which they then had in America."

#### EXTENDING THE DOCTRINE

Quite recently the cry of the Monroe Doctrine, "Hands off America!" has not only been confirmed, but by a resolution of the United States Senate strengthened and expanded thus:

"Resolved, that when any harbour or other place in the American Continent is so situated that the occupation thereof for naval or military purposes might threaten the communications or safety of the United States, the Government of the United States could not see without grave concern the possession of such harbour or other place by any corporation or association which has such relation to another Government, not American, as to give that Government practical power of control for national purposes."

There is no need to inquire at

whom this notice was aimed, but some years ago an eminent German economist rather stirred America by saying: What had it done for civilization? and by describing the Monroe Doctrine as an "empty pretension." "Can these things be," asked America, although, then as now, many of her best men, including Ex-President Taft, were doing their best for the great cause of peace in the world and arbitration for the settlement of strikes. Only this year England and America celebrated a century of peace between each other and it is never likely to be broken. Possibly the present ordeal of the Mother Country may even increase the regard for her of the daughter republic.

#### "HANDS ACROSS THE SEA!"

"Our blood which flows in your veins," said Mr. Winston Churchill to Americans, "should lead you to expect that we shall be stubborn enough to bear the impact. But if we go down and are swept in ruin into the past, you are the next in the line. This war is for us a war of honour; of respect for obligations into which we have entered; and of loyalty towards friends in desperate need. But now that it has begun it has become a war of self-preservation. The British democracy with its limited monarchy, its ancient Parliament, its ardent social and philanthropic dreams, is engaged for good or for ill in deadly grapple with the formidable might of Prussian autocratic rule.

It is our system of civilization and government against theirs. It is our life or theirs. We are conscious of the greatness of the times. We recognize the consequence and proportion of events. We feel that, however inadequate we may be, however unexpected the ordeal may be, we are under the eye of history, and the issue being joined, England must go forward to the very end."

Those are noble words, worthy of a great occasion and, as we have seen, their message of purifying flame was

lit in American public opinion even before they were uttered; because in every man and woman of Saxon blood, no matter where they have their homes, west or east, north or south in the globe, there is the determination that nothing shall succeed, even by the force of arms, which would cut us off from that splendid dawn when, as Robert Burns, the singer of humanity wrote:

"Man to man the world o'er  
Shall brithers be and a' that."

## XXII. NIETZSCHE AND KAISERISM

It needs to be constantly remembered that the present great war is a war not with the German people, but with what Mr. Asquith described at the Guildhall as "a body of new doctrines and new philosophy preached by professors and learned men." The foundation of this new philosophy—if philosophy it can be called—is the supreme divinity of Force, the belief that might is right, that to the strong all things are possible and justifiable, that brawn is more than brain, and muscle than conscience. This devil's creed finds its fitting and inevitable expression in the statement of the German Chancellor, Herr von Bethmann Hollweg to the Reichstag that "necessity knows no law," that Germany is compelled to over-ride "the just protest of the Luxemburg and Belgian Governments," the only question being how she is "to hack a way through" to the military goal; as for the neutrality of Belgium it is merely "a scrap of paper."

### A CYNICAL TEACHING

If any one man can be said to be responsible for this shameless cynicism it is Nietzsche, for the foregoing is the incarnation of his creed, a creed

which thoughtful men have noted with growing alarm being woven into the warp and woof of the thought and practice of Prussia and elsewhere during the last forty years, a creed which has the official and ruling classes of Germany in its strangulating grip, and which, if not destroyed, threatens to throttle Europe. This is why the Prime Minister, in his noble speech at the Guildhall, said: "This is not merely a material, it is also a spiritual conflict. Upon this issue everything that contains the promise and hope that leads to emancipation and fuller liberty for the millions who make up the masses of mankind will be found sooner or later to depend." This war is the translation into action of the theories of Nietzsche, a thinker as daring as he was unscrupulous, the one man who set up the real and only alternative to the Christian creed.

Born at Röcken, near Leipzig, on October 15th, 1844, the son of the village pastor, Nietzsche received his early education at the elementary school at Naumburg, proceeding thence to a private preparatory school, and afterwards to the Naumburg grammar school. In 1858, his mother, now a



widow (his father having lost his reason, death releasing him from madness), was offered and accepted a six-year scholarship for her son in the Landesschule at Schulpforta, an ancient and famous public school which has given many great men to Germany, including Novalis, Schlegel, and Fichté. Frederick Nietzsche, who was then fourteen years old, remained at Schulpforta until September, 1864, when he left for the University of Bonn, entering the University of Leipzig a year later. At Leipzig the drift from the Christian beliefs begun at Bonn developed swiftly.

#### READS SCHOPENHAUER

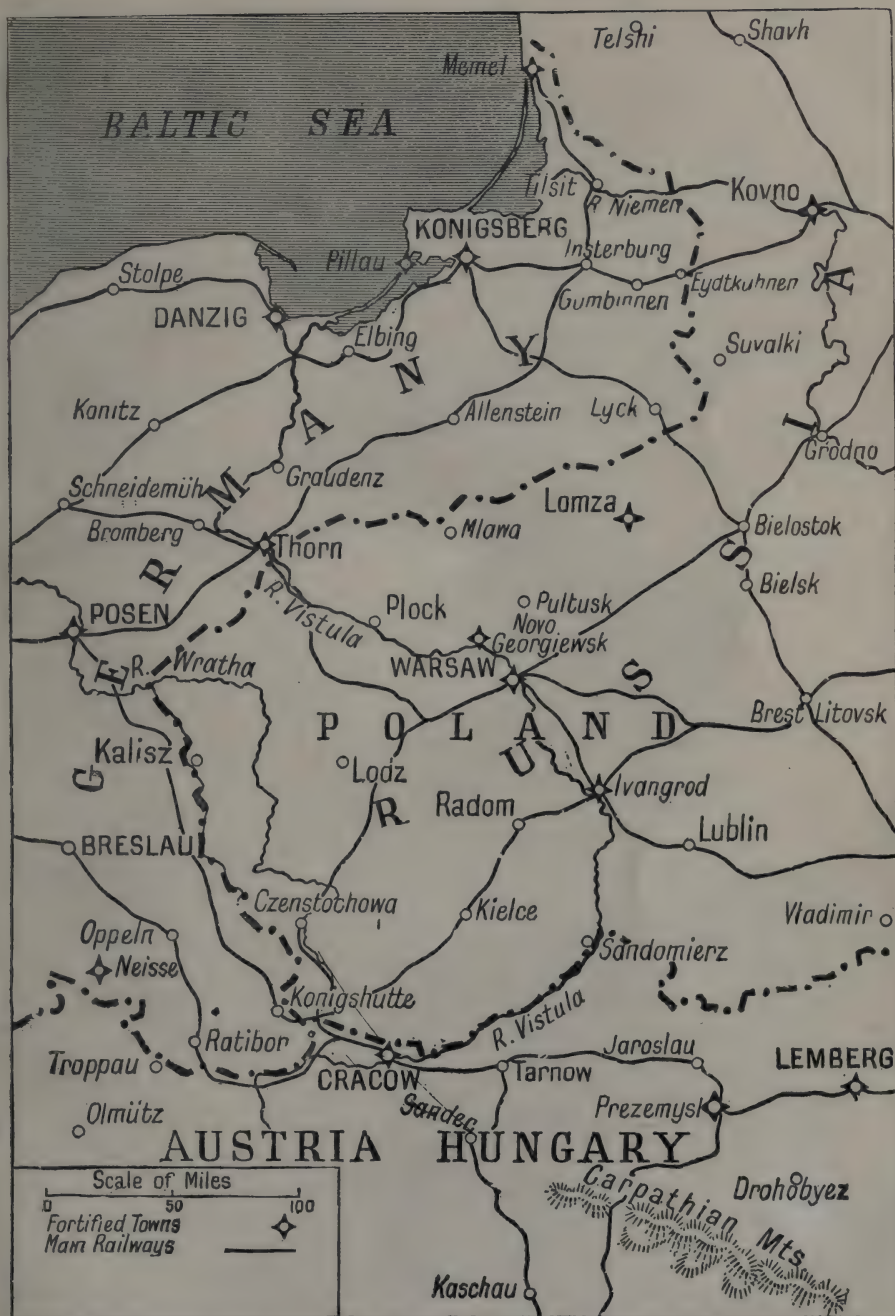
For two years he studied hard at classical philology, and attended the lectures of Curtius, Roscher, Tischendorf, and Ritschl, the last-named especially influencing him. During those years he read Schopenhauer and became "fascinated by the grim sage whose masterpiece, 'The World as Will and Idea,' revolutionized the young man's outlook on life and completed his separation from Christianity." Traces of Schopenhauer's doctrines are to be found in all Nietzsche's works.

Whilst at Schulpforta Nietzsche had in 1867 to fulfil the obligation of one year's military service, joining the 4th Regiment of the Field Artillery at Naumburg. His experiences as a soldier fed his contempt for the people and his increasingly aggressive and haughty spirit. On returning to

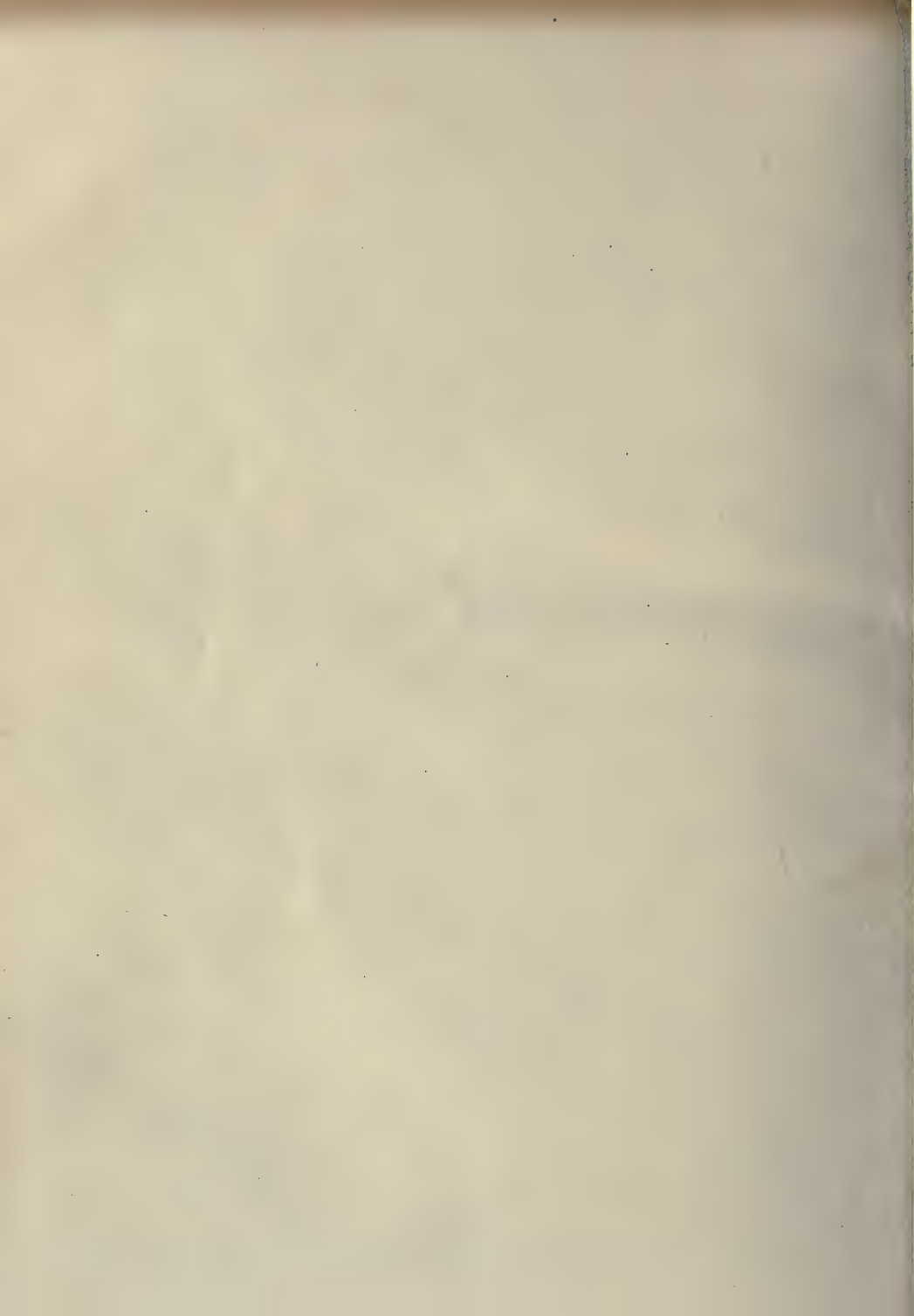
Leipzig with the commission of a Lieutenant of the Reserve, Nietzsche resumed his studies, becoming at this period a friend and passionate admirer of Wagner, whom in later life he villified with equal zeal, calling him a "clever rattlesnake, a typical decadent." In 1869, at twenty-four years of age, Nietzsche was appointed Professor of Classical Philology in the University at Basel at a salary of £120 per annum. In July, 1870, the war between France and Germany broke out, and Nietzsche received permission to go to the front as a nurse, but an attack of dysentery ended his war career and he returned to Basel to finish and bring out his first book, "The Birth of Tragedy," an homage to Wagner, ignored by the public and described by one of Nietzsche's professional colleagues as "pure nonsense."

#### BESET BY ILL-HEALTH

There is no need to enumerate the successive works written by Nietzsche, as we shall later deal with the philosophy which they seek to promulgate. Throughout his life he suffered from lack of health, which affected him so completely in 1879 that he was obliged to resign his professorship, the Senate granting him a pension equivalent to his salary. From 1879 until he became insane ten years later, he wandered, solitary and unhappy, between Italy, the Engadine, and Germany, leading a frugal life, staying nowhere very long.



"DAILY CHRONICLE" War Map drawn by G. W. BACON & CO., Ltd., 127, Strand, London.  
 SHOWING THE RUSSIAN ADVANCE INTO AUSTRIA AND GERMANY.





with, says his biographer, the exception of Venice, Genoa, Nice, and Sils-Maria in the Engadine. Now and then his admirers would come and visit him, but they soon drifted again out of the life of the man who was dying for faithful friends and disciples, "and yet never could manage to keep the few whom life and chance brought across his path." For years Nietzsche took drugs to make up for loss of sleep, and his mental condition in 1888 may be judged from the following letter: "I have given the deepest book to mankind ('Zarathustra'); I am the most independent spirit in Europe, and the only German writer." It was with a brain in this state that he wrote "The Antichrist," in which he declared Christianity to be the worst and most pernicious of all religions, "the one great curse."

#### AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL

The last book he wrote, a kind of autobiography, was entitled "*Ecce Homo*," the chapter headings including: "Why I am so Wise," "Why I am so Clever," "Why I write such excellent Books," "Why I am a Notability." In this book Nietzsche contends that Heine and he are "the greatest artists of the German language that have ever existed." "I did a host of things of the highest rank—things that no man can do nowadays; to take up one of my books is one of the rarest honours a man can pay himself"; "before my time there was no psychology."

A few months later Nietzsche went

mad, declaring himself to be God. His aged mother placed him in a private institution in Jena, and in 1890 took him into her own house at Naumburg. For ten years he lingered on, never recovering his reason, dying on August 25th, 1900. This was the end of the apostle of the Superman, of the man who declared that "the weak and defective shall go to the wall; that is the first principle of our charity." Before turning to his works it is necessary to remind the reader that Nietzsche's knowledge was superficial, that there is hardly a single statement in his writings not contradicted by him somewhere else, and that his philosophy is neither systematic in itself nor set forth in systematic form.

#### WISDOM WITHOUT WAITING

This general attitude and the main problems with which he was engaged are summed up by his interpreter and biographer Maximilian A. Mügge in the following propositions:—

1. The world as a whole is amoral (non-moral) and without a goal or purpose. It is an artistic phenomenon that will recur eternally.

2. Hitherto mankind has had no goal either. A self-set definite goal, however, is of artistic value and will increase man's power. Such a goal is set before us by the Superman, a higher and superior species of man. The Superman is a life-furthering idea, the expression of man's Will to Power.

3. Every religion, every system of morals or politics which is hostile to life, which delays the coming of the Superman must be abolished. Only the moral code of strong and masterful men is compatible with the true aims of life.

4. The Christian religion with its slave-morality is above all others life's fiercest enemy. Christianity counteracts Natural selection (the survival of the fittest, *i.e.*, strongest). It is "the greatest of all conceivable corruptions; the one immortal blemish of mankind."

5. Our next goal, since the Superman will be but the joys of a far-distant future, is to produce a higher and superior race of men. These "Higher Men" will be, however, only a transition to be followed and superseded by the new species, the Superman.

6. The immediate steps advisable in a melioristic policy towards the "Higher Man" are: a Eugenics Revision of our present marriage laws, a sensible education of youth, a United Europe and the annihilation of the Christian Church.

"GOD AND I!"

It will be gathered from the foregoing that Nietzscheism is egoism *in excelsis*, it is the race to the swift and the battle to the strong, the exaltation and adoration of Force as the one and only deity, the theory of the survival of the fittest carried to its ultimate and logical conclusion. 'Men,' says Nietzsche, "shall be-

come fierce beasts of prey, quicker, cleverer, and more human." By "more human" he means what ordinary people understand by less human, *i.e.*, inhuman; this he makes clear in the following passage:—

"There is no doubt that man is always growing 'better,' and therein lies the doom of Europe, for with the fear of man, the splendid, blond beast of prey has been lost, as has also been lost the love and reverence for manliness, the will to manliness."

It is the loss of the reverence for the "splendid blond beast of prey" he regrets. This is why he attacks Christianity so constantly and fiercely; it has "waged a deadly war," he asserts, "against the highest type of man," *i.e.*, man as beast of prey. "What type of man," he asks, "are we to cultivate, what type of man are we to wish for as more valuable for life, and more certain of the future? This more valuable type has often enough existed as a happy accident, as an exception, never as a deliberate intention. It has rather been the most dreaded type, most feared, and because of this the reverse type has been cultivated and realised—the domestic animal, the herding animal, the sickly animal—man, the Christian."

#### THE STRONG HAND ONLY

Because the Christian religion breaks across the theory of the survival of the fittest with its care for the weak, its pity for the helpless, the

unfit, as Nietzsche considers, he rages and foams against it, its Christ and its God.

"The weak and the botched," says Nietzsche, "shall perish; first principle of our humanity and they ought even to be helped to perish. What is more harmful than any vice? Practical sympathy with all the botched and the weak—Christianity!"

"Become hard," he preaches—to what purpose let Louvain witness—

"Christianity is the reverse of the principle of selection. If the degenerate and sick man ('the Christian') is to be of the same value as the healthy man ('the pagan') the natural course of evolution is thwarted and the unnatural becomes law. . . . Christianity has sided with everything weak, low and botched. . . . Christianity, its God and everything it is, is hostile to Life, above all to science . . . to me it is the greatest of all imaginable conceptions."

Not that he despises religion which has its uses; it is a capital weapon in the hands of the strong to overcome resistance to authority by the slaves. For he has two moralities, one for the Master, the Superman, the other for the masses, the slaves, or, to use his own word, the "herd." The motive power of life is not, he declares, the Will to Live, but the Will to Power, a passion which grows by what it feeds on. Every instinct is a source of thirst for power, and nothing must stand in the way of its gratification.

The main thing is not to love one's neighbour, but oneself. This creed is for the strong who, by accepting it, prove they are masters and not slaves. The latter, the herd, need the present-day morality to keep them under, "slavery" being "the essence of culture"; only the masters are beyond "good-and-evil morality," enjoying the do-as-your-instincts-suggest morality. The best and highest that men can acquire, according to Nietzsche, they obtain by crime, and the only good man in his topsy-turvy world is the wicked man. Briefly, he contemplates two classes, one of the Masters, doing what they like; the other of the people, the masses, the democracy, doing what the Masters like.

#### WAR AND THE NEW GOSPEL

We now come to the place of war in Nietzsche's "gospel." Just as conflict between individuals reveals the strongest man, the superman, so war between nations reveals the strongest nation, the super-nation. One of the distinguishing marks of Nietzsche's future men will be their love of war. They will fight men, gods and stars. War and courage, he claims, have done more good than love to the neighbour. War, he chants, is the true divinity for consecrating and purifying the State:

"For nations that are growing weak and contemptible, war may be prescribed as a remedy, if indeed they really want to go on living. . . . The more fully and



thoroughly we live, the more ready we are to sacrifice life for a single pleasurable emotion. A people that lives and feels in this wise has no need of war."

How deeply the military and ruling cast in Germany has drunk of Nietzsche's monstrous brew is revealed in the much-talked of book of General F. von Bernhardi, "Germany and the Next War." There we read: "War is a biological necessity, an indispensable regulator in the life of mankind, failing which would result a course of evolution deleterious to the species, and, too, utterly antagonistic to all culture. War, said Heraclitus, is the father of all things. Without war inferior or demoralized races would only too easily swamp the healthy and vital ones, and a general decadence would be the consequence. War is one of the essential factors of morality. If circumstances require it, it is not only the right but the moral and political duty of a statesman to bring about a war."

#### WHY ENGLAND?

But why, the reader may ask, if these writers want war do they want it with England? Before answering this question directly it needs to be emphasized that Nietzsche, the great German historian Treitschke, and thinkers and writers of the same school, such as Kuno Fischer and Clausewitz, have poured rivers of loathing, contempt and scorn on every-

thing English, so that young Germany has grown up to believe that we are not only *the* enemy, but are a dead nation blocking the way of German aspirations with our corpse. Thus Nietzsche, describing the English, says:

"They are a fundamentally mediocre species . . . ponderous, conscience-stricken, herding animals . . . the English mechanical stultification of the world. . . . Shakespeare, that marvellous Spanish-Moorish-Saxon synthesis of taste, over whom an ancient Athenian of the circle of Aeschylus would have half-killed himself with laughter or irritation . . . the absurd muddle-headed Carlyle . . . herd of drunkards and rakes . . . the plebeianism of modern ideas is England's work of invention."

Elsewhere he alludes to that "blockhead John Stuart Mill," and to "Herbert Spencer's tea-grocer's philosophy." Treitschke, whose influence not only in Prussia but throughout Germany can hardly be exaggerated, is equally virulent. Thanks chiefly to him during the last three or four decades, England has been portrayed as the great robber-State. The English race possesses one-fifth of the habitable globe "by theft," says Treitschke. "In one phase or another," says Professor J. A. Cramb, Treitschke's admirer, in his "Germany and England," "this conception is gradually permeating all classes, making itself apparent now in a character in fiction,

now in a poem, now in a work of history or economics, now in the lecture hall at Bonn, or Heidelberg, or Berlin, now in a political speech."

### IN THE PATH

The one answer to the one question, "What stands in the way of the desires and ambitions of Germany?" is "Great Britain." "For us," declares Bernhardi, "there are two alternatives, and no third, world-dominion or ruin, *Weltmacht oder Niedergang*." Treitschke incessantly points Germany onwards to war with England, to the destruction of our supremacy at sea, as the means by which Germany is to burst into this world-dominion. Bernhardi throughout his book assumes not that Germany could make war on England, but that she *ought* to do so, and he calmly proceeds to tell us, with much naïvety, how Germany will go to work. In view of what has happened so far in this war, it is amusing to read his injunction that "the war against English commerce must . . . be boldly and energetically prosecuted, and should start unexpectedly." You have drunk the wine of empire, these writers say to England; "it is Germany's turn now." Just as the greatness of Germany, they argue, is to be found in the governance of Prussia, so the greatness of the world will be found "in the predominance there of German culture, of the German mind, in a word, of the German character. This

is the ideal of Germany, and this is Germany's rôle as Treitschke saw it in the future."

### A SPIRITUAL CONFLICT

It will now be understood why the Prime Minister at the Guildhall spoke of the war as "a spiritual conflict." The bottom fact of this war is that it is the greatest attempt ever made to found an empire upon Force. It is not—far from it—the first attempt, though it may be the last. Rome made a like effort with what results Gibbon has recorded for all time in his "Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire." The extraordinary thing is that a nation so intellectual as Germany can be so stupid as to entertain a theory whose fate is inscribed on the tomb of every nation that has cherished it. "Corsica," crowns Professor Cramb gleefully, "has conquered Galilee," but has it, has Napoleonism ousted Christianity? Is Louvain to be the last word of civilization? Is the professional bully who sabres defenceless civilians going to commend "the religion of Valour" to the peoples of the earth? If Bernhardi is right, "sudden attacks without a declaration of war; vast schemes for spy-systems, and assassin-like disguises; the cowing of a country by the wholesale shooting of civil non-combatants; breaches of neutrality; national treacheries; altered dispatches; forged letters; diplomatic lies; a perfect world-organisation of super-sneaks"—to quote Mr. H. G. Wells;

are "inseparable from every war," and "vanish completely before the idealism of the main result." But do they? Let Belgium's devastated lands reply.

#### SUPERMAN—AND SUPERBEAST!

Is the world likely to desire the Superman after discovering that he is the Superbeast? Professor Cramb quotes the new "Beatitudes": "We have heard how in old times it was said, Blessed are the meek for they shall inherit the earth; but I say unto you, Blessed are the valiant, for they shall make the earth their throne. . . . And ye have heard men say, Blessed are the peacemakers; but I say unto you, Blessed are the war-makers, for they shall be called if not the children of Jahve, the children of Odin, who is greater than Jahve." This is the quintessence of Nietzscheism, but will anyone say that mankind is going to survive on such a diet when the destruction of

individual liberty and of national independence is essential to its triumph?

Mr. Asquith has pointed out in incomparable language that "free self-development is the one capital offence in the code of those who have made force their supreme divinity, and upon its altars are prepared to sacrifice both the gathered fruits and potential germs of the unfettered human spirit." When the German flag waves over every continent and island, when the last lover of liberty has been killed, when the "potential germs" of freedom have been wholly eliminated from the breast of humanity, and the race of enthroned Supermen are served by a world of slaves, it will be time enough to talk of Corsica having "conquered Galilee." Until that day arrives it is, to say the least, premature. The pseudo-philosophy of Nietzsche is that of a madman for madmen. In a moral world it was doomed before its disastrous birth.



## XXIII. WHO'S WHO IN THE WAR

WAR, like death, is not only a great leveller, but it tears up family ties by the very roots. How often even in our own civil wars were members of a family found arrayed against each other in deadly strife. So now it will be seen that crowned heads of mighty European Empires waging bitter war are closely related, and all claims to kinship are thrust ruthlessly aside in the clash of arms.

**KING GEORGE V.**—To the Sovereign of the British Empire, George V., has come comparatively early in his reign a trial of kingly wisdom and strength. It was on May 6th, 1910, that he came to the throne on the death of King Edward, and he is now in his forty-ninth year. Almost to the last moment before the outbreak of war he strove earnestly for peace, and his three o'clock in the morning telegram attempting to stay the catastrophe will not readily be forgotten. As "a sailor Prince" he knows all about the navy. He has sailed round the world and visited every portion of his extended Empire. He is the first British Sovereign to be crowned in Delhi as Emperor of India.

When war was declared he issued an inspiring message to the Fleet—"the sure shield of Britain and her Empire in the hour of trial." And equally inspiring was his address to the Army: "Your duty will be nobly done," he said. Both he and Queen Mary—to whom he was married in 1893—have been indefatigable in initiating and assisting organized means to relieve suffering and distress due to the conflict. The Prince of Wales, too, has been conspicuous in these efforts by starting a national fund. He has joined the 1st Grenadier Guards, but his brother, Prince Albert, a midshipman in the Navy, has been incapacitated by illness.

**THE TSAR.**—The Tsar of Russia, Nicolas II., bears a striking personal resemblance to his cousin, King George V. His relationship with the British royal family is very close. He married a daughter of Princess Alice, sister of King Edward and King George's aunt, while his mother is Queen Alexandra's sister. By marriage he is also related to the Kaiser, whose daughter's wedding he attended in Berlin in May last. He was born

in 1868, and succeeded his father in 1894. During his reign he has made notable attempts at reform. The Hague Conference resulted from a manifesto he issued in 1898 in favour of the world's peace. He will always be remembered for the establishment of a Russian Parliament—the Duma, and the changing of the name of St. Petersburg to Petrograd. In pursuit of an enlightened policy he issued a manifesto on the outbreak of the war, giving hopes of a renewal of national life to Poland. He is an admiral of the British Fleet and colonel-in-chief of the 2nd Life Guards.

#### THE GERMAN EMPEROR.—

The German Emperor, William II., the third Emperor of reunited Germany, was born at Berlin on January 27th, 1859, and, like King George, he is a grandson of the beloved Queen Victoria, whose daughter, the Princess Royal, married the Crown Prince of Prussia. The news of his birth was flashed by the Crown Prince to Windsor Castle in this message: "A boy! God preserve mother and child," and the response telegraphed back by Queen Victoria was, "Is it a fine boy?" But this child of ill-starred omen for Europe had one physical defect—his left arm was as good as useless. This, however, did not prevent his military training, and at the close of the Franco-Prussian war of 1870 he entered Paris with his father and grandfather, the latter the first Emperor of modern Germany. He

succeeded his father, Frederick III., in 1888. He married in 1881, and has six sons and one daughter. The Kaiser has essayed almost every rôle of human activity. He stands for a divine-right Monarch, a soldier, a sailor, a sportsman, an artist, an orator, a dramatic censor, and a preacher—in fact, as a Saviour of Society from his own point of view. He has claimed more and more strenuously a preponderating influence on the part of Germany in foreign affairs. A few years ago he proclaimed that "the ocean teaches us that on its waves and on its most distant shores no great decision can any longer be taken without Germany and *without the German Emperor.*" He has been the avowed foe of democratic principles and the upholder of his divine right as a Monarch. Only four years ago he declared: "Considering myself as the instrument of the Lord, without heeding the views and opinions of the day, I go my way." He was a Field-Marshal of the British Army and an Admiral of the British Fleet, but on the outbreak of war he returned his uniforms.

#### CROWN PRINCE of GERMANY.

—The Crown Prince of Germany, Frederick William Victor, is a tall, slim, and impulsive young man of thirty-two. Queen Victoria, his great-grandmother, was his godmother. He is in command of one of the German armies. He is a strong believer in rule by divine right, and a profound admirer of Napoleon. He became the



leader of the war party in Germany when three years ago he dissented from the Chancellor's proposed peaceful arrangement with France in regard to Morocco. His conduct led to friction with the Kaiser, who at the same time remarked of him, "Well, William is no diplomat. I will admit it, but I believe the fellow has got marrow in his bones. He will turn out to be our Moltke yet."

#### **PRINCE HENRY OF PRUSSIA.**

—The brother of the Kaiser, Prince Henry of Prussia, is a "sailor prince" and inspector-general of the German navy. While Admiral von Tirpitz is the creator of the German Navy today, Prince Henry has been called its trainer. He is a firm supporter of the Kaiser's views as to maintaining Germany's sea-power, and he is an enthusiastic airman. He, like the Kaiser, was an admiral of the British Fleet.

#### **THE EMPEROR OF AUSTRIA.**

—An old man and full of sorrows, the Emperor Francis Joseph of Austria has been a pathetic figure in Europe. He is eighty-four years of age, and is the oldest monarch on a European throne. His life has been subject to the most tragic vicissitudes, and he declared after a succession of blows of ill-fortune, that fate could surely have nothing more sorrowful in store for him. Alas! fate would seem to have a crowning stroke to close his career. When in 1848, at the age of eighteen, he ascended the throne, he found an

Empire composed of warring kingdoms, and out of this strife and disorder he organized the dual monarchy of Austria-Hungary. A succession of tragedies has befallen him. His brother, the Emperor Maximilian of Mexico, was executed. His son, the Crown Prince Rudolph, was found killed under tragic circumstances in a hunting lodge with the Baroness Maria Vetsera. His wife, the Empress Elizabeth, was assassinated. Lastly, plunging Europe into war, came the assassination in Servia of the heir-apparent to the Hapsburgh throne, the Archduke Ferdinand, and hismorganatic wife, the Duchess of Hohenberg.

**THE KING OF BELGIUM.**—King Albert, of Belgium, who is 39 years of age, is the tallest monarch in Europe. He was born in Brunswick in 1875, and is a son of the late Count of Flanders. He married in 1900 a daughter of Duke Charles of Bavaria, and came to the Belgian throne in 1909. He bears a striking resemblance to his uncle, King Leopold II., whom he succeeded. He travelled a good deal while heir-presumptive, spending nearly a year in America, and is a fine specimen of the modern constitutional monarch with democratic sympathies. He has acted up to the letter of his proud proclamation calling upon his soldiers to defend their country to the last drop of blood. He has shown that, while a student and an author, he is also a man of war, and shared the hardships



of his brave troops. He is a distant cousin of King George, his father and his uncle, Leopold II., having been first cousins of Queen Victoria.

### **THE FRENCH PRESIDENT.—**

President Poincaré, of France, who is 53 years of age, was born in Lorraine, and has a vivid boyish recollection of the Prussians marching through his native town. He is a many-sided man of conspicuous ability, being a member of the French Academy, and distinguished as a writer, a barrister, and a statesman. He became head of the great French Republic in 1913, and has been a keen supporter of the Triple Entente. His recent visit to London, when he received a great popular welcome, did much to strengthen the Entente, and he visited the Tsar just before the outbreak of the war. He has been enthusiastically acclaimed by his countrymen for his skilful handling of the critical situation.

**THE KING OF SERVIA.—**King Peter, of Servia, came to the throne under tragic circumstances eleven years ago, after King Alexander and Queen Draga had been murdered in their palace in the capital. He is 70 years old, and owing to ill-health his second son, Prince Alexander, is acting as regent. This prince is 26, and was elevated to the position of heir-apparent when his elder brother George rendered himself obnoxious, and renounced his rights to the

throne. King Peter had his horse shot under him when fighting for the French in 1870. He married Princess Zorka, a daughter of King Nicholas of Montenegro, but she died before he came to the Servian throne.

### **THE KING OF MONTENEGRO.**

—The King of Montenegro is related by marriage to the Tsar, and when over 70 years of age he led the attack in the recent Balkan war on Turkey. He was born in 1841, succeeded to the throne in 1860 as Prince of Montenegro, and was proclaimed King in 1910.

### **THE EMPEROR OF JAPAN.—**

The Emperor of Japan two years ago was created a Knight of the Garter, and he is the only non-Christian and Asiatic holder of this distinguished British Order. He was born on August 31st, 1879, and came to the throne on July 29th, 1912.

**MR. ASQUITH.—**The Rt. Hon. Herbert Henry Asquith, the Prime Minister of England, comes of staunch Puritan stock, and was born at Morley, in Yorkshire, on September 12th, 1852. His father died while he was young, and coming to the Metropolis he lived with an uncle at Islington while he was being educated at the City of London School. Here he gained scholarships, without which, as he said, he would have been unable to proceed to Balliol College, Oxford, where he greatly distinguished himself. He entered

Parliament in 1886 as the representative of East Fife, and as a prominent member of the Bar he figured in many notable cases, including the great Parnell Commission. His inclination, however, was towards political life. He has been Home Secretary and Chancellor of the Exchequer. He became Prime Minister in 1908, in succession to Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman. As a master of concise and eloquent statement he has no rival in Parliament. By his own gifts he has won a position akin to the greatest of British statesmen.

**SIR EDWARD GREY.**—For so young-looking a man it does not seem possible that Sir Edward Grey has seen 30 years of public service. He has represented Berwick since 1885, and his experience has mainly lain in the direction of foreign affairs. Under Mr. Gladstone he did duty at the Foreign Office, and he has now been Foreign Secretary for over nine years. The main characteristic about him is his straightforwardness, and he has earned the confidence of all political parties. While there has been clamour about home politics everyone reposed perfect trust in him in handling foreign affairs. And his greatest triumph was in staving off a conflict during the Balkan crisis, when again and again a European outbreak was very near. Quiet and retiring, he is noted as a tennis player and an angler. He was born on April 25th, 1862.

**MR. WINSTON CHURCHILL.**—Still young, Mr. Winston Churchill, who is now at the Admiralty as First Lord, has played many parts. He has been an officer in the Fourth Hussars with service in India, and he acted as war correspondent during the Boer war, being captured as a prisoner and afterwards escaping. Since entering Parliament, in which he has won high honours for eloquence and administrative capacity, he has filled the posts of Under Secretary for the Colonies, President of the Board of Trade, and Home Secretary. He became the official head of the Navy in 1911 with the avowed determination of upholding British naval supremacy at all costs. And among his later exploits which have endeared him to the public have been his flying experiments. He is only 40 years of age.

**LORD KITCHENER.**—When the war broke out Lord Kitchener relieved Mr. Asquith of the post of Secretary for War, which the Premier had been occupying temporarily, and he also became Commander-in Chief of the British Army. No more popular appointment could be imagined, for this tall, determined-looking man, 64 years old, has been looked upon as the embodiment of soldierly organization and the organizer of victory. He was born in County Kerry in 1850, his parents being English. He received a commission in the Royal Engineers when 21, and after survey



work in Palestine he went through the Egyptian campaigns with great distinction. He carried the conquest of the Soudan to a successful conclusion, being raised to the peerage and receiving the thanks of Parliament with a grant of £30,000. He went to South Africa as chief of the Staff with Lord Roberts, and finished the Boer War, again receiving the thanks of Parliament with £50,000. Since then he has been Commander-in-Chief in India, and head of the British Administration in Egypt.

**LORD HALDANE.**—That a scholar and lawyer with a philosophic bent of mind may also be a great military organiser is shown in the case of Lord Haldane, the present Lord Chancellor of England. When he was War Secretary he created the present Territorial Army in place of the old Volunteers and introduced the mobilisation scheme which has worked so well. He has been engaged at the War Office in association with Lord Kitchener. He is a Scotsman, and was born in 1856.

**ADMIRAL SIR J. R. JELlicoe.** The supreme command of the British Home Fleets is in the hands of Admiral Sir John Rushworth Jellicoe, who is 55 years old. He has spent forty-two years in the Royal Navy, and has seen all that has been going on of active service. He has had hairbreadth escapes. He was present at the bombardment of Alexandria, and as a member of the Naval Brigade

took part in the battle of Tel-el-Kebir. When the ill-fated *Victoria* was rammed by the *Camperdown* and sunk in the Mediterranean "Jack" Jellicoe, ill on board with Malta fever, managed to escape, though Sir John Tryon and over six hundred officers and men went down. He saw service in China in subduing the Boxer rebellion, and was wounded by a bullet through the lungs, but recovered. The German Emperor conferred upon him the order of the Red Eagle for his great service in the suppression of the Chinese rebellion. He is largely responsible for the progress of the English Fleet in naval gunnery, and in an especial degree has the confidence of all ranks. He is the son of a naval officer.

**ADMIRALS OF BRITISH FLEET.**—Rear-Admiral C. E. Madden, Chief of the Staff to Sir John Jellicoe, is a brother-in-law of that officer, both Admirals having married daughters of Sir Charles Cayzer. Rear-Admiral Madden entered the Navy in 1875, and served in the Egyptian War and specialized in gunnery. Vice-Admiral Sir Lewis Bayly commands the First Battle Squadron, flying his flag in the new battleship *Marlborough*. He is 56 years of age, and has been in the Navy since 1870. To Vice-Admiral Sir George Warrener falls the distinction of commanding the most powerful battle squadron, the Second, for its eight ships are all armed with 13·5-in. guns. He joined the Navy in 1873, and was 54 years of age on



July 31st. Vice-Admiral E. E. Bradford in the Third Battle Squadron has charge of the principal pre-Dreadnought battleships. He is a gunnery specialist. Vice-Admiral Sir Douglas Gamble, with his flag in the *Dreadnought*, is in command of the Fourth Battle Squadron. He was 57 years of age in November last, and has been in the Navy since 1870. Rear-Admiral Sir David Beatty, who commands the First Battle-Cruiser Squadron, is a comparatively young man, who won early promotion to the rank of captain for gallantry in China in 1900.

**SIR JOHN FRENCH.**—Next to Lord Kitchener, probably Field Marshal Sir John French ranks as the most prominent active general in the British Army, and he commands the Expeditionary Force which Britain has sent to the Continent. Sir John French, now 62 years old, has had a brilliant career. He began as a midshipman in the Navy, but joined the Army in 1874, entering the 8th Hussars. He distinguished himself as a cavalry leader in the Soudan, but his great reputation was achieved in the Boer War, where his dashing tactics were most successful in some critical phases of the campaign. He was the one general who was uniformly successful. Always a cavalry man, he has had considerable experience of continental field operations, having attended the manœuvres in France and Germany for several years. He is, therefore, well known to the

French commanders. Grown grey now, he is still an alert military figure, and, albeit, a quiet, modest man, he is credited with great firmness and determination. Two great qualities for military leadership are ascribed to him—quick decision, and resourceful and energetic action.

**SIR ARCHIBALD MURRAY.**—Major-General Sir Archibald Murray, who is Chief of the General Staff of the British Expeditionary Force, was formerly Director of Military Training. He has seen much active service, being severely wounded in South Africa. He is 54 years of age.

**GENERAL SIR. H. L. SMITH-DORRIEN.**—After forty-years of active service with the British Army, General Sir H. L. Smith-Dorrien is now ably co-operating with Sir John French with the Expeditionary Force in the field. He was first mentioned in despatches during the Zulu War of 1879, and since then in every campaign in Egypt and South Africa he has figured with glorious distinction. He was born in 1858, and has been Chief of the Southern Command since 1912.

**SIR WILLIAM ROBERTSON.**—Major-General Sir William Robertson, who is the Quartermaster-General of the Expeditionary Force has been Director of Military Training at the War Office since 1913. He entered the 3rd Dragoons Guard in 1888, and saw service with the Chitral Relief

Force in 1895, when he was severely wounded. He went through the Boer War, being mentioned in despatches. He was born in 1860.

**SIR C. F. NEVIL MACREADY.**

—The Adjutant-General of the Expeditionary Force is Major-General Sir Cecil Frederick Nevil Macready, a descendant of the famous actor of that name. He became a lieutenant of the Gordon Highlanders in 1881, and he served in the Egyptian campaign in the following year. He also went through the Boer campaign with distinction. Recently he was prominently to the front in connection with the Ulster question, when he took over the military command in the North of Ireland.

**SIR DAVID HENDERSON.**—

At the head of the Royal Flying Corps under Sir John French's command is Brigadier-General Sir David Henderson, who was Director-General of Military Aeronautics at the War Office. Born in 1862, he joined the Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders in 1883. He served in the Soudan, and also in South Africa, where he was wounded.

**SIR IAN HAMILTON.**—General

Sir Ian Hamilton, who is serving with Sir John French, has had a distinguished career in the army, which he joined in 1873, having been in the Afghan War, the first Boer War, and with the Chitral Relief Force. He also went through the siege of Lady-

smith, and has written a good deal on military subjects.

**SIR DOUGLAS HAIG.**—General

Sir Douglas Haig, another commander with the Expeditionary Force, was born in 1861, and joined the 7th Hussars in 1885. He went through the Egyptian campaigns, and served under Sir John French in the Boer War.

**SIR CHARLES FERGUSON.**—

Major-General Sir Charles Fergusson who commands a division of the Expeditionary Force, was born in Edinburgh in 1865. He joined the Grenadier Guards in 1883. He was severely wounded in the Soudan.

**GENERAL ALLENBY.**—

The Cavalry Division of the Expeditionary Force is under the command of Major-General Edmund Allenby, who for the last four years has been responsible for the training of this arm of the service. He is a distinguished cavalry officer.

**M. DELCASSÉ.**—Foremost

among the statesmen of France is M. Delcassé, the French Minister of War. He has played an important part in international affairs, and has been a warm supporter of the Triple Entente. He was Colonial Minister in 1894, and became Minister of Foreign Affairs in 1898, but this position he had to relinquish in 1905 owing to friction with Germany,

which country practically demanded his resignation. He was instrumental in settling the differences that arose between France and Great Britain over the occupation of Fashoda.

**M. RENÉ VIVIANI.**—M. René Viviani, the French Prime Minister, who was born in Algeria, owes his position in politics to his Labour sympathies, but under him all parties have united to repel the German foe.

**GENERAL JOFFRE.**—The Commander-in-Chief of the French Army, General Joffre, was born in 1852, and served in the war of 1870. He is of medium height, stout, and with a heavy, drooping, white moustache, and shows great activity in the field. All his life he has devoted himself to military tactics, and is described as a great organizer. The French Army organization, as it now exists, is his creation, and he has paid particular attention to the defences on the Eastern frontier. In the great conflict of 1870, he commanded a battery in Paris, when the Germans besieged the city. He was Governor of Madagascar, and fought in Tonquin. He is a man of great simplicity of character and living, and is fond of whist and bridge. He is intolerant of inefficiency, and last year created some stir by removing five commanding generals from their posts after the French manoeuvres. He has been married ten years, but has no family.

**GENERAL PAU.**—A picturesque figure among the leaders of the French Army is General Pau, who, though possessing only one arm, is next in rank to General Joffré. He served with distinction in the war of 1870.

**ADMIRAL BOUÉ DE LAPÉYRÈRE.**—The French naval Commander, Vice-Admiral Boué de Lapéyrère, was formerly Minister of Marine, and did good work in re-organising the Navy.

**GENERAL LEMAN.**—With the hour came the man in Belgium. General Leman, though now sixty-two years of age, made his first appearance as a practical soldier in resisting the German invasion, and made himself famous by his wonderful defence of Liège. He had previously been a professor of mathematics in a Belgian military academy.

**M. SAZONOFF.**—M. Sazonoff, the Foreign Minister of Russia since 1910, has been called "the pillar of the Triple Entente." He knows England well, having been for some years Second Secretary and Councillor at the Russian Embassy in London, a position which he held at the time of the Dogger Bank affair. He is very popular with the Russian people, and is implicitly trusted by the Tsar. As a result of his conduct of Russian diplomacy during the Balkan War he received



the personal thanks of the Tsar in the form of an Imperial rescript. In Austria-Hungary and Germany he has been credited with playing a deep game, and is considered "the cleverest diplomatist in Europe."

**IVAN GOREMYKIN.**—The Russian Prime Minister is Ivan Goremykin, who is an economist and sociologist, and has economic plans for the regeneration of Russia. His scheme is to distribute the people over the different territories.

**GENERAL SUKHOMLINOFF.**—The reorganization of the Russian armies has been the work of General Sukhomlinoff, Russian Minister of War, who is described as "the Russian Kitchener." He has seen much active service and has brought the equipment of the army up to a high state of perfection.

**GENERAL RENNENKAMPF.**—In command of the Russian Army operating in East Prussia is General Rennenkampf, who distinguished himself in the Russo-Japanese War.

**VON BETHMANN-HOLLWEG.**—Dr. von Bethmann-Hollweg is the Imperial Chancellor of Germany, and combines the functions which are exercised in this country by the Prime Minister and the Foreign Minister. He comes from an old Prussian merchant family ennobled in 1840. He is fifty-seven years of age, and he and the Kaiser were students together at

the university of Bonn. He has been Imperial Chancellor since 1909, but he has not been regarded as a strong man, being looked upon merely as the Kaiser's mouthpiece. He alluded contemptuously to the Belgium treaty of neutrality as "a scrap of paper," and made the declaration that Germany must "hack her way through."

**GENERAL VON MOLTKE.**—General Von Moltke, the chief of the German military staff, is a nephew of the great Field-Marshal von Moltke, who planned Prussia's successful war against France in 1870. He is sixty-six years of age, and declined his present post when it was first offered to him, but the Kaiser pressed it upon him with the assurance of Imperial help. By this it is understood that the German Emperor himself dominates the work of the military staff.

**ADMIRAL VON TIRPITZ.**—The creator of the German Navy is Admiral von Tirpitz, who has been Naval Secretary since 1898. His object has been to make the German Navy as strong as the military arm, and he is responsible for the mad race in armaments that has disturbed Europe. He has, however, a great regard for the English character, and all his children have been educated in England. He joined the German Navy as a cadet forty years ago, and is now sixty-three. His work at the manoeuvres in 1894 brought him under the notice of the Kaiser, leading

to his promotion. The naval conditions were chaotic when he took hold of the helm, and he devoted himself not only to carrying out a great constructive naval programme, but to popularising it with the German people. His object has been to "catch up" with Britain's sea-power.

**COUNT VON ZEPPELIN.**—The Kaiser has described Count von Zeppelin, the designer of the famous airships, as "the greatest German of the twentieth century." Count Zeppelin is seventy-six years of age, and it was while with the United States Army that he first conceived the idea of air-vessels in warfare.

**COUNT BERCHTOLD.**—Count Berchtold, the Foreign Minister of Austria, is a Hungarian by birth, and is credited with having been in sympathy with the late Archduke's policy of conciliating the Slav element in the Austrian Empire. He is a trained diplomatist, and was at one time at the Austrian Embassy in London. He is an aristocrat with a distinguished presence, and is now fifty years of age. In undertaking to "discipline" Servia he started the European conflagration. He was a great personal friend of the Russian Foreign Minister, M. Sazonoff, when he was ambassador at St. Petersburg.

**COUNT STURGKH.**—The Austrian Premier, Count Sturgkh, to whom the Emperor sent his manifesto to his people, is a member of an

old German aristocratic family, and he was in the confidence of the late Archduke Francis Ferdinand. He has held office since 1911.

**COUNT TISZA.**—Count Tisza is Prime Minister of Hungary, and is a man of striking individuality. His father ruled the country for fifteen years.

**ARCHDUKE FREDERICK OF AUSTRIA.**—The Archduke Frederick, Commander-in-Chief of the Austrian Army, is a brother of Queen Christine of Spain, King Alfonso's mother. Now fifty-eight years old, he has spent his life in the Army, and is enormously rich. His grandfather, Archduke Charles, defeated Napoleon at the battle of Aspern.

**BARON CONRAD VON HÖTZENDORF.**—Chief of the staff of the armies of Austria-Hungary is Baron Conrad von Hötzendorf, who possesses the confidence of the aged Emperor. He came to the front in political affairs in Austria in 1906. He received the rank of General in 1908, and, like most Army chiefs, is said to have a capacity for organization.

**M. PASITCH.**—M. Pasitch, Prime Minister of Servia, is a man of sixty-five, and has served under the former dynasty as well as under King Peter. All along he has worked in close touch with Russia.

**CROWN PRINCE OF SERVIA.**

—Prince Alexander of Servia, who is acting as regent during King Peter's illness, played a gallant part in the Balkan wars, and led an attack on Uskub. He is twenty-six, and is "the idol of the nation."

**GENERAL PUTNIK of SERVIA.**

—The Commander-in-chief of the

Servian Army, General Radumil Putnik, was born in 1849, and has attained his present position through the series of wars and revolutions that have beset Servia. He is a self-taught man, who has been all his life a soldier. He directs his forces from a hut by means of a telephone, and in his uniform eschews all the trappings and tinsel of rank.



## XXIV. PLACES PROMINENT IN THE WAR

HISTORY does not record any battle-field of such gigantic extent as this. The field of conflict ranges broadly right across Europe from end to end, extending from the slopes of Russia in the east to the English Channel in the west, and as the tide of battle ebbs and flows, now one area and then another comes into prominence. Following is an account of the chief places of interest in the war:

### PARIS

Famed Paris, the capital of France, is the second largest city in Europe, London being the first. It is a city of pleasure, culture, and fashion, and attracts the wealthy from all parts of the world. Divided by the Seine about 110 miles from its mouth, the city lies in the midst of a fertile plain, and it is the centre of a great network of rivers, canals, roads, and railways. The population in 1911 was 2,888,110. Paris is bounded by a rampart of fortifications many miles in length, and is encircled at a distance of from two to five miles by an outer range of heights, including Villejuif, Mendon, St. Cloud, and Mont-Valérien, crowned by the detached forts

forming the main defences. There are fifty-six gates in the walls of Paris.

The Seine in passing through Paris is spanned by twenty-eight bridges. The most celebrated and ancient are the Pont Notre Dame (1500), and the Pont-Neuf (1578-1604). The bridges all communicate directly with spacious quays, planted with trees. Many imposing new streets, it is pointed out in "Chambers's Gazetteer," were formed in the time of Napoleon III., including the Rue de Rivoli, two miles in length, the Rue de la Paix, the Rue du Faubourg St. Honoré, and the Rue Royale. The Boulevards are lined with trees, seats, stalls, and kiosques. Among the public spaces the most noteworthy is the Place de la Concorde, which connects the Gardens of the Tuileries with the Champs-Élysées, and embraces a magnificent view of some of the finest buildings and gardens of Paris. Most famous among the churches is the Cathedral of Notre Dame, the main building of which was begun in the twelfth century.

It has been said that if the pillars of Notre Dame could speak, they might tell the whole history of France. The Palace of the Tuileries was begun in

1566 by Catherine de Médicis, and enlarged by successive monarchs until it formed a structure nearly a quarter of a mile long, running at right-angles to the Seine. It was connected with the Louvre by a great picture gallery. The Commune attempted to burn the whole pile, but only succeeded in destroying the Tuileries and a corner of the Louvre.

There are over forty theatres in Paris, and the new Opera House cost £1,120,000, exclusive of the site. For centuries Paris has been a leading centre of literature and art, and the schools of Paris are world-famous. The chief institutions connected with the University of Paris, and with education generally, are situated in the Quartier Latin. Paris is one of the richest cities in the world in art collections. The museums at the Louvre stand pre-eminent. Among its chief treasures may be mentioned the famous Venus de Milo, and the great works of the Italian, Flemish, and Spanish masters, and there is a long succession of galleries in which are exhibited Egyptian, Assyrian, Elamitic, Greek, Roman, mediæval, and Renaissance relics and works of art. The Eiffel Tower, 985 feet high, was erected in 1889 for the exhibition. The Bois de Boulogne beyond the fortifications at the west of Paris is one of the most beautiful gardens in Europe.

#### BRUSSELS

Built partly on the side of a hill, Brussels, the capital of Belgium, is

one of the finest cities in Europe and has a population of 665,806. It has a circumference of about five miles, and some of the streets are very steep. The fashionable upper town in which are the royal palace, public offices, and chief hotels, is much more healthy than the older lower town, which is greatly subject to fogs, owing to its intersection by canals and the Senne, although the stream now passes under an arched covering, which supports a boulevard. Yet the closely built old streets, with their numerous handsome buildings, formerly belonging to the Brabant nobility, but now occupied by merchants and traders, have a fine picturesque appearance, while some of the public edifices are unrivalled as specimens of Gothic architecture. Pleasant boulevards shaded by lime trees, extend all around the old town. The Royal Palace of Læken is three miles north of the city. The Palace of Justice, which cost more than £2,000,000, is one of the most magnificent buildings in Europe. The field of Waterloo is eleven miles south of Brussels.

#### PETROGRAD

St. Petersburg, now re-christened Petrograd, is the capital of the Russian Empire, and stands at the mouth of the Neva in the Gulf of Finland. It was founded by Peter the Great, and with four main lines of railway is the chief port of Russia. It has a population of about two millions. Cronstadt, on an island sixteen miles to the west, has been

both the fortress and the port of the capital, but since 1885 a ship canal admits ships to Petrograd, and two-thirds of the foreign vessels unload within the city.

### BERLIN

Formerly the capital of Prussia, and, since 1871, of the German Empire, Berlin ranks as the third largest city in Europe, and is divided by the River Spree into two almost equal portions. Since the creation of the German Empire the city has grown with remarkable rapidity. In 1871 the population was 826,341, and in 1910 it had risen to 2,070,695. Including the suburbs not yet incorporated, Berlin has over 3,000,000 inhabitants, and now ranks as one of the most important commercial centres of the world, having large manufacturing industries. Situated in the centre of the city near the "Unter den Linden"—so named from its avenue of limes—are the Emperor's palace, the royal library, with over 1,000,000 volumes and 30,000 manuscripts, the old and new museums, the national gallery, the arsenal, the royal theatre, the opera house, the guard-house, and the university. Adorning the public places are numerous statues of national heroes, such as the Great Elector, and Frederick the Great. About 82 per cent. of the population are Protestants, 12 per cent. Roman Catholics, and 5 per cent. Jews. There are twenty theatres in the city. The celebrated Brandenburg Gate leads to the Thiergarten, and to

the south-west of this lies the Zoological Garden.

### VIENNA

Although Vienna, the capital of the Austrian Empire, contains buildings of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, it is essentially a modern city, situated on the Danube Canal. It is the chief industrial city of the Empire. Vienna proper consists of the Inner City and ten suburban districts surrounding it, formerly encircled by fortifications known as the Lines, which in 1892 were replaced by a boulevard. The total population is 2,000,000. The Inner City was until 1858 enclosed by a line of fortifications, the site of which is now occupied by the Ringstrasse, a series of handsome boulevards. The Inner City and the Ringstrasse are the handsomest and most fashionable quarters. In the former are the cathedral of St. Stephen (1300-1510), with a steeple 450 feet high; the Hofburg imperial palace, a large and irregular pile of very various dates; and many palaces of the nobility. Vienna has many splendid parks, the largest being the Prater, seven square miles in extent, and one of the finest parks in Europe.

### BELGRADE

The position of Belgrade, the capital of Servia, lying opposite Semlin, at the confluence of the Save and Danube, has made it the chief point of communication between Constantinople and Vienna, and the entrance



to Hungary on the south-east. The citadel is not equal to the requirements of modern warfare. The population is about 100,000, and the town, which has passed through many vicissitudes of war, is losing its old Turkish aspect, and becoming more modern.

#### BUDAPEST

Standing on the banks of the Danube, Budapest, the capital of Hungary, is the second city of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. It is 173 miles from Vienna, and Buda stands on the right bank and Pesth on the left bank of the river. Buda covers steep hills, while Pesth lies on a plain. The joint towns are connected by many bridges.

#### LUXEMBURG

Wedged between France, Germany, and Belgium, Luxemburg has been since 1815 an independent grand duchy. The King of Holland was Grand Duke till 1890. He was succeeded by the Duke of Nassau, and on his death his daughter became grand duchess. The area of the country is 998 square miles, and the population 260,000. The Germans have violated the guaranteed neutrality of Luxemburg by invading France through this territory and the "Gap of Treves." Treves claims to be 1,300 years older than Rome.

#### ANTWERP

Well described as "the Liverpool of the Continent," Antwerp is the

chief commercial city of Belgium. At the beginning of the sixteenth century it was the commercial capital of the world. It stands on the river Scheldt, fifty-two miles from the sea and twenty-seven miles north of Brussels. The tonnage of vessels entering its ports has increased to a vast extent of late years, and is now over 11,000,000 tons annually. The large dock and quay accommodation having been found too limited, a new quay, two miles in length, and docks, constructed at a cost of nearly £4,000,000, were opened in 1885, and further extensions have been made since. The noble Gothic Cathedral possesses the two greatest works of Rubens, the "Elevation of the Cross" and the "Descent from the Cross." New fortifications have been erected outside the city with detached forts, making Antwerp one of the most strongly fortified places in Europe. The population is 350,000.

#### BRUGES

This is a manufacturing city of Belgium, eight miles from the sea, with which it is connected by canals from Ghent, Sluys, and Ostend.

#### MALINES

Occupying a position on the navigable Dyle, some fourteen miles from Antwerp, the Belgian town of Malines suffered severely at the hands of the ruthless Germans. The splendid cathedral, a vast building covering nearly two acres and dating from the middle of the fifteenth century, was

shelled. The interior of this grand edifice was adorned with Van Dyck's "Crucifixion" and other priceless pictures and carvings. The town is capable of being flooded as a measure of defence. It has extensive railway works, and is the See of the Primate of Belgium.

### THE MEUSE

A river of France and Belgium rising in the French department of Haute-Marne, the Meuse flows past Verdun, Sedan, Namur, Liège and Maestricht. It is navigable from Verdun, and its principal affluents are the Sambre and Ourthe.

### LIÈGE

One of the first manufacturing centres of Belgium, Liège is a fine city on the Meuse, sixty-two miles from Brussels, and it will live in history for the brilliant defence it offered to the Germans. The town is in the midst of the Belgian coal mining district, and is a great manufactory of firearms. It was a well-laid-out city, with fine bridges and handsome squares and gardens, and has a population of 175,000. For defences it had a ring of modern forts, which, skilfully manned, held the Germans at bay for a long time.

### NAMUR

Noted for its cutlery, the Belgian city of Namur is situated at the confluence of the Sambre with the Meuse, thirty-five miles distant from Brussels.

The greater part of the picturesque old citadel has been transformed into a pleasure ground, but the new fortifications erected were utilized to resist the German advance.

### DINANT

This quiet Belgian town, 17 miles south of Namur, has been pillaged and some of its inhabitants shot by the German soldiers. The town is on the banks of the Meuse, and on a cliff towering above it is the old citadel, dating from 1530.

### LOUVAIN

A seat of learning ever since the Middle Ages, Louvain, a city in the Belgian province of Brabant, has been called "the Oxford of the Low Countries." It is nineteen miles from Brussels, and was famous for its cloth manufactures in the fourteenth century. The town was the seat of a celebrated university founded in 1426, and in the sixteenth century there were 6,000 students. The university was reconstituted in 1817, and had about 1,600 students, with a library of 250,000 volumes. There were many other notable structures in the city, which, besides valuable books and rare manuscripts, possessed art and historic treasures of inestimable value, all of which have been ruthlessly destroyed by the German vandals in sacking and burning the town. The Hotel de Ville was one of the architectural glories of the Low Country, and a fine example of mediæval Flemish architecture.

## GHENT

By a ship canal to the Scheldt and by a canal to Ostend, Ghent, a city of Belgium, is united with the sea, and sea-going vessels enter its docks. It is divided by canals into twenty-six islands linked by 270 bridges, and is encompassed with gardens and meadows.

## OSTEND

Although Ostend is now known as a fashionable Belgian watering-place, it has its history of wars and protracted sieges in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The fortifications, however, were demolished in 1865. Ostend has a sea wall three miles long, which forms a favourite promenade, and it is calculated that over 50,000 visitors resort to the town each season from all parts of the Continent. It is also a centre for shipping butter and rabbits, whilst it is an important fishing station.

## TOURNAY

An ancient Belgian town on the Scheldt, Tournay has a splendid Romanesque cathedral [with five towers, and pictures by Rubens, and in its modern aspect it is a manufacturing place for Brussels carpets, linen, and porcelain.

## MONS

Sure to figure historically as the spot where the British troops made a gallant stand against overwhelming numbers of Germans, Mons is the capital of the Belgian province of

Hainault, on the Troville, thirty-eight miles from Brussels. It has various manufactures, and is close to an extensive coalfield. The fortifications were demolished in 1862, but the country around can be flooded.

## COURTRAI

This is a walled town of Belgium, six miles from the French frontier, and has a fine old bridge flanked with towers, and a beautiful Gothic church founded in 1238 by the Count of Flanders.

## HUY

This Belgian town is romantically situated amid lofty rocks on the Meuse, about twenty miles from Liège. Its citadel commands the passage of the river.

## MAUBEUGE

A strongly fortified town in the French department of Nord, four miles from the Belgian frontier, Maubeuge offered a prolonged and heroic resistance to the Germans.

## LILLE

The town of Lille, a first-class fortress of France, is a great centre of textile industries, employing 20,000 workpeople. It is the chief town of the department of Nord, and is sixty-six miles by rail from Calais.

## VALENCIENNES

Once famed for its lace, Valenciennes is a manufacturing town and



first-class fortress of France at the entrance of the Rhonelle into the Scheldt. The famous lace is no longer made here, but only a coarser sort, and, among the industries are great iron-works. It possesses a citadel constructed by Vauban.

#### DUNKIRK

Situated on the Straits of Dover, Dunkirk is the most northerly seaport of France, and is 189 miles from Paris. It is a very strong place, as well from recent fortification works, as from the ease with which the surrounding country can all be laid under water. As a seaport, both naval and mercantile, it is also a place of much consequence; and great harbour works have been carried out under the law of 1879, which authorized an expenditure of £2,000,000. The town itself is well built, Flemish rather than French. Dunkirk has many factories, great shipbuilding yards, and cod and herring fisheries.

#### CALAIS

Twenty-one miles from England, across the Straits of Dover, Calais is known as one of the chief ports for travellers from England to France. It is 184 miles north of Paris, and ranks as a fortress of the first class, the old walls, dividing it from its suburb, Saint Pierre, having been demolished since 1883, and their place supplied by a ring of exterior forts. The gate built by Richelieu in 1635, and immortalized by Hogarth, has disappeared; but the

cardinal's citadel still stands. On the south and east are low marshy grounds, which could be submerged in the event of an invasion. A new harbour was opened in 1889.

#### BOULOGNE-SUR-MER

Well known for its fine sands and sea bathing, Boulogne-sur-Mer, a fortified seaport in the French department of Pas-de-Calais, has been in increasing favour with English residents. It is the chief station in France of the North Sea fisheries, and has an active coasting trade. Like Calais, it is a place of passage between England and France, with constant sailings to and from Folkestone. A new deep-water dock was opened in 1912, and ocean liners call. It was at Boulogne that Napoleon encamped in 1804, purposing to swoop down on England.

#### DIEPPE

A French seaport, overlooking the English Channel, Dieppe sank into secondary importance on the rise of Havre. It is situated among chalk cliffs at the mouth of the river Arques, and has shipbuilding yards and important fisheries. There is regular communication with England by steamers from Newhaven, and it is the port for Paris by way of Rouen.

#### HAVRE

Havre, second only to Marseilles as a seaport of France, is 143 miles from Paris. There is excellent harbour accommodation for its extensive

shipping, and it is one of the chief emigrant ports in France. It has great shipbuilding yards, machine factories, cannon foundries, flour mills, petroleum and sugar refineries, and dye-works.

#### CHERBOURG

The great naval station of France, Cherbourg is situated on the north extremity of the peninsula of Cotentin in the English Channel, seventy miles south of the Isle of Wight and 230 miles from Paris. Large sums have been spent on the harbour walls and fortifications.

#### BORDEAUX

Now the temporary seat of the French Government, Bordeaux is the third seaport of France, and chief town in the department of Gironde, famous as a wine-growing country. The town is beautifully situated in a plain, and is 359 miles from Paris by rail. Transatlantic steamers can ascend the Garonne to Bordeaux. The commerce, both by the Garonne and by railways, is very extensive.

#### MARSEILLES

Marseilles is the second city of France, and the principal commercial French port. It is situated on the south coast, about twenty-seven miles east of the mouth of the Rhone, and 536 miles from Paris. The Messageries Maritimes, and other great French shipping companies, have their headquarters at Marseilles,

which is regarded as the chief port in the Mediterranean.

#### RHEIMS

Strongly fortified with detached forts, Rheims is 100 miles from Paris in the department of Marne. For a time it was the German headquarters in the Franco-German war. It is one of the great centres of the woollen manufacturers of France, and it is also noted for the production of champagne. Vineyards surround the town.

#### VERDUN

A fortified French town, 35 miles from Metz, Verdun withstood the siege of the Germans for six weeks in the war of 1870.

#### LUNEVILLE

This French town, close to Nancy, is now a great cavalry station. It was formerly a residence of the Dukes of Lorraine, but their palace is now a cavalry barracks.

#### NANCY

Lying at the foot of vineclad hills, Nancy is a beautiful French town, 220 miles east of Paris and 94 miles west of Strasburg. It has a fine cathedral and other notable buildings, including a 16th century ducal palace. The staple industry is embroidery on cambric and muslin.

#### SEDAN

A frontier town of France, Sedan is remembered for the surrender in

1870 of Napoleon III., and 83,000 men to the Germans. The fortress was dismantled after 1875.

#### CAMBRAI

On the Scheldt, 128 miles from Paris, Cambrai is a city and first-class fortress in the French department of Nord. Its manufactures include cambric, so named from Cambrai.

#### ARRAS

Fortified, Arras is the capital of the French department of Pas-de-Calais, on the navigable Scarpe, 120 miles north of Paris. It has a cathedral, and a beautiful Gothic hotel-de-ville. Its tapestry was formerly so famous that in England the name "arras" was given to all such hangings.

#### ROUEN

Possessing many notable historic monuments, Rouen is a great manufacturing city on the right bank of the Seine, 87 miles from Paris. The ramparts have been converted into boulevards, and the modern streets are well constructed, but old Rouen still largely consists of ill-built picturesque streets. The Seine makes Rouen, although 80 miles from the sea, the fourth shipping port of France. Rouen has many old churches and noteworthy buildings. The heart of Richard Cœur de Lion is preserved in the Museum of Antiquities. There is a fine statue

of Joan of Arc, who was burnt there in 1431.

#### ST. QUENTIN

This French town in the department of Aisne on the Somme, 95 miles north-east of Paris, is a centre of cotton industries, which give employment to 130,000 people. The church is a fine Gothic structure dating from the 12th to the 15th century.

#### COMPIÈGNE

A French town on the river Oise, Compiègne has royal associations. It has three interesting churches, a Gothic hotel-de-ville with a fine belfry, and a palace, rebuilt by Louis XV., and splendidly fitted up by Napoleon. The beautiful forest of Compiègne, 30,000 acres, was a favourite hunting-ground of the kings of France. It was at the siege of Compiègne, in 1430, that the Maid of Orleans was captured; and here, in 1810, Napoleon first met Maria Louisa of Austria.

#### AMIENS

The fortifications of the old French town of Amiens, once the capital of Picardy, have been turned into charming boulevards, but it still retains its old citadel. Ruskin highly praised its cathedral of Notre Dame, which is a masterpiece of Gothic architecture begun in 1220. Another famous building is the Hotel-de-ville, in which the Peace of Amiens was signed in 1802. Amiens has considerable manufactures of velvet, silk, woollen and cotton goods, ribbons,



and carpets. Peter the Hermit and Ducange were natives, and there are statues to both of them. In the war of 1870, General Manteuffel inflicted, near Amiens, a signal defeat on a French army 30,000 strong.

#### CHALONS-SUR-MARNE

An old-world French town, Chalons-sur-Marne, on the right bank of the river Marne, 107 miles east of Paris, has timber houses, a 13th century cathedral, a handsome hotel-de-ville, and a fine public park, though the Germans in 1870 cut down its immemorial elms for fuel. It still does a considerable trade in champagne. Near Châlons, the Romans and Goths in 451 A.D. defeated Attila and his Huns. In 1856 Napoleon III. formed the celebrated camp of Châlons.

#### BELFORT

This French fortress of the first rank close to the Alsace-Lorraine boundaries maintained from the 3rd December, 1870, till 16th February, 1871, a brave defence against the Germans. The fortifications have been enormously strengthened since 1874. It has now important cotton manufactures, mostly transferred from Mülhausen after the war.

#### TOUL

Since the war of 1870 Toul, on the Moselle, 20 miles west of Nancy, has been strongly fortified with a cordon of forts. Its cathedral is one of the finest in France.

#### ALSACE-LORRAINE

As the result of the Franco-German war in 1870, the provinces of Alsace and Lorraine were incorporated in the new German Empire by the treaty of Frankfort. The great mass of the population were strongly against the change, and 160,000 elected to be French, though only 50,000 went into actual exile, refusing to become German subjects. Alsace-Lorraine is bounded on the west by France, east by Baden, and south by Switzerland. Its utmost length, from north to south, is 123 miles; its breadth varies between 22 and 105 miles; and its area is 5,580 square miles. The population in 1871 was 1,549,738, and in 1910 it was 1,874,014, of whom over 1,400,000 were Catholics, and 80 per cent. German-speaking, the French-speaking population being mainly in the larger towns and in Lorraine. The territory includes the important cities of Strasburg, Metz, Mülhausen, and Colmar.

#### METZ

This is the strongest fortress of German Lorraine, and before 1871 was the principal bulwark of the north-eastern frontier of France. Its strength consists in its cordon of forts. In August, 1870, Marshal Bazaine was forced to retire with 179,000 men into Metz, which after a long siege surrendered to the Germans.

#### STRASBURG

Two miles from the Rhine in Alsace-Lorraine, Strasburg ranks as a strong

fortress. The citadel, originally built by Vauban (1682-84), was demolished by the Germans during the bombardment of 1870, but they have since rebuilt it and erected detached forts on the adjacent heights. The position of Strasburg near the borders of France, Germany and Switzerland, gives it both commercial and strategic importance.

#### COLMAR

Colmar, the capital of the German district of upper Alsace, is an old city on a plain near the Vosges, 42 miles from Strasburg, and it is one of the chief seats of the cotton industry.

#### MÜLHAUSEN

This town of Alsace-Lorraine is a great industrial centre. In cotton manufacture many thousands of work-people are employed in the town and the adjacent villages.

#### HELIGOLAND

A small island in the North Sea, Heligoland was ceded by Britain to Germany in 1890, in return for concessions in East Africa. It is 36 miles north-west of the mouth of the Elbe. Germany has since very strongly fortified the place.

#### KIEL

Connected with the North Sea by the Kaiser Wilhelm Canal, Kiel is the Baltic headquarters of the German Navy and has Imperial shipbuilding yards. It is also an important commercial port.

#### HAMBURG

Owing much of its trade to its position as a distributing centre for the Continent, Hamburg is the principal commercial seaport of Germany, and it stands second to Bremen as an emigrant port of the German Empire. The city is on the Elbe, 75 miles from the German Ocean. Next to London it has the largest money-exchange transactions in Europe; and as a commercial centre its only rivals are London, Liverpool, Antwerp, and New York. The population is over 1,000,000.

#### BREMEN

A flourishing port, Bremen ranks second in Germany for its foreign trade, which is largely with the United States. Big ocean-going steamers can come to its docks from Bremerhaven on the North Sea. At least fifty per cent. of German emigrants sail from Bremen, which is the headquarters of the North German Lloyd Steamship Company.

#### KÖNIGSBERG

This is an important town and fortress in East Prussia on the river Pregel, and it is 366 miles north-east of Berlin. It is a chief continental centre for the tea trade, and ships immense quantities of corn.

#### THORN

A famous stronghold so far back as the 17th century, Thorn, a town of West Prussia on the banks of the

Vistula, has since 1878 been made a fortress of the first rank, the old fortifications being removed, and a series of detached forts built. Copernicus was a native; and a huge bronze statue of him was erected in 1853.

#### DANZIG.

The capital of West Prussia, Danzig is an important seaport and fortress on the left bank of the western branch of the Vistula, 284 miles north-east of Berlin. The Gulf of Danzig is an inlet of the Baltic. Danzig is one of the great commercial cities of northern Europe.

#### THE VISTULA.

This river, along which heavy battles have taken place between the Russians and the Austrians, rises in Austrian Silesia, and is the great river of Poland. It flows 650 miles northward, but with many bends, and receiving the Bug and other tributaries, past Cracow, Warsaw, Plock, Lipno, Thorn, Kulm, Graudenz, and Danzig, till it enters the Baltic Sea by several mouths.

#### POSEN.

The capital of an important Prussian province, Posen stands in the most direct line from Russia to Berlin, from which it is 158 miles distant by rail. It is a German fortress of the first rank, and the fortifications have been strengthened by building detached forts.

#### LEMBERG.

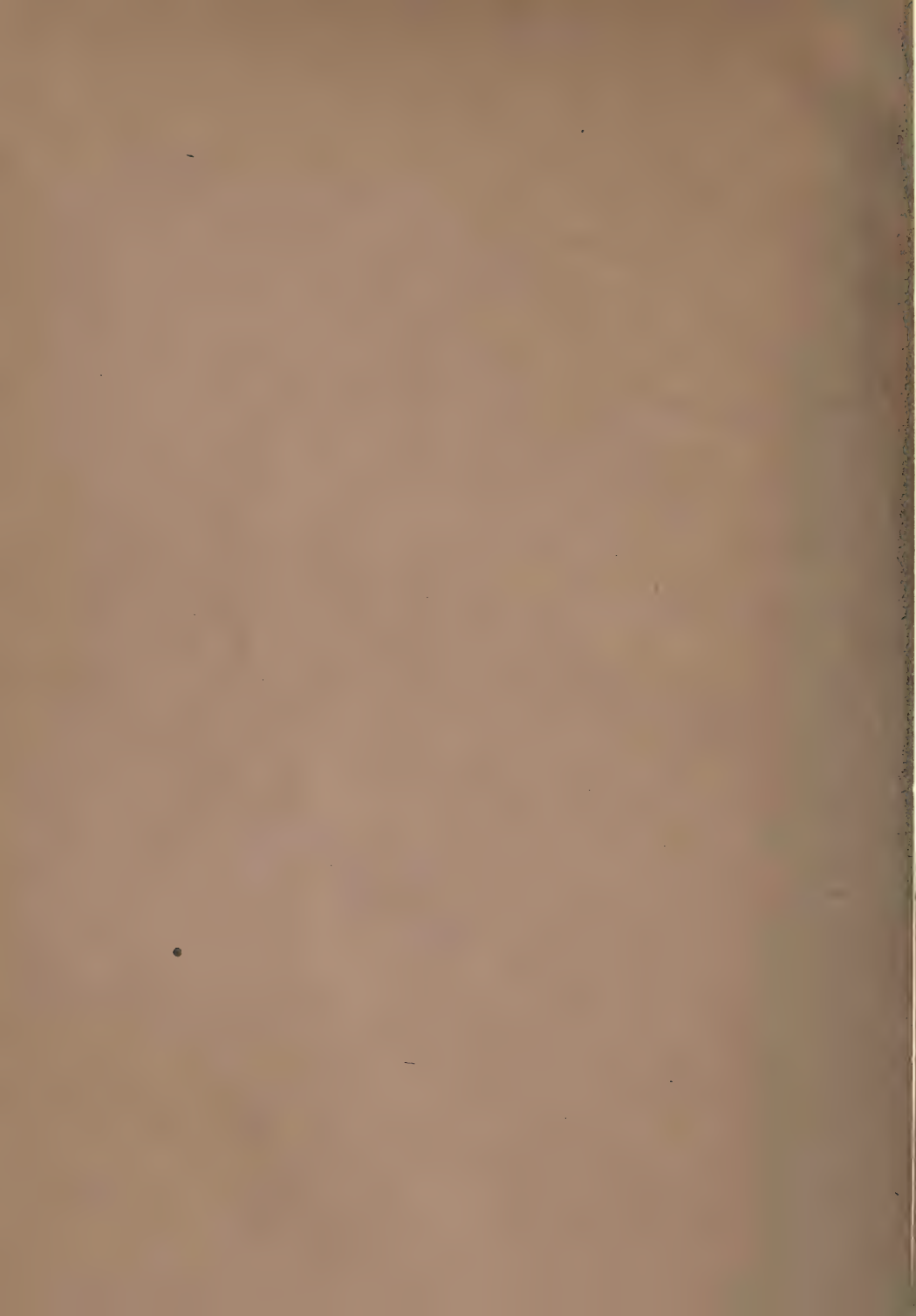
Lemberg, which was captured by the Russians, is the capital of the Austrian province of Galicia, and is situated in a narrow basin among hills. Founded in 1259, Lemberg was an important Polish city from 1340. It fell to Austria at the first partition of Poland.

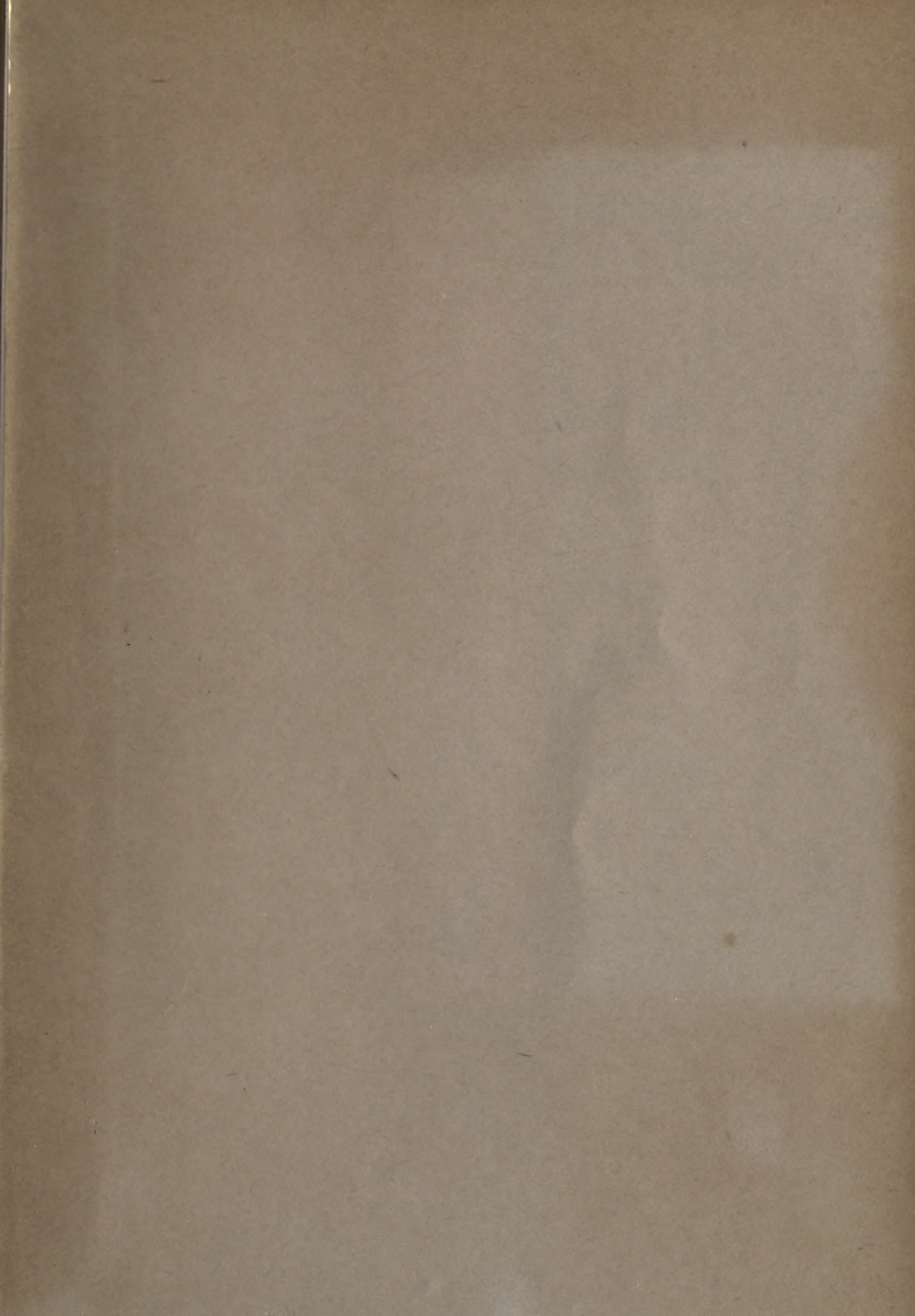
#### CRACOW.

A city of Austrian Galicia, Cracow stands on a plain on the left bank of the Vistula and is surrounded by hills. Cracow was the Polish capital from 1320 till 1609. On the partition of Poland in 1795 it was assigned to Austria. In 1809-15 it was part of the duchy of Warsaw, and in 1815-45 a republic; but in 1846 it was re-annexed to Austria.













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